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Investigation of the attitudes of teachers toward educable mentally retarded students

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS TOWARD EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED STUDENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has often been asserted that more scientific and technological discoveries have been made in this half century than in all previously recorded time. This "knowledge explosion" has left an indelible stamp on the contemporary American scene. Two aspects of this scientific advance are particularly interesting. First, man has conquered, or has within his reach the means to control, large portions of nature. Now, intellectual and physical resources are being diverted to further enlarging knowledge and understanding of man's inner nature, his self. Hence, there has been a rapid growth in the size and significance of the behavioral sciences. Second, the sheer vastness of the knowledge available has ushered in an age of specialization and professionalization. The cultural ideal of a learned gentleman once referred to the ability to converse at length while knowing only a little about a lot. It is now imperative to know a lot about a minute segment of knowledge.

Consequently, the average man is faced with the dilemma of achieving competence within his own speciality and still acting in accord with the knowledge available in other fields. Obviously, it cannot always be done, and thus many aspects of life are governed by tradition, myth and misinformation. This disparity between the knowledge available and the bases for action actually used is a provocative area of study for the social scientist.

Gradually, though, the psychosocial knowledge acquired in specialized research is being disseminated by the mass media to the larger public: mental illness, criminality, the facts about race and sex are a few of the areas where fear and fancy are yielding to fact. Mental retardation is a subject still cloaked in an aura of myth, stigma and confusion which is only now beginning to give way to systematic investigation, though not yet receiving a proportionate share of current research efforts.

The primary task of this thesis will be to focus attention on one aspect of this subject: the attitudes of elementary school teachers toward the educable mentally handicapped, and the postulated value orientations which underlie or correlate with these attitudes.

A STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL PROBLEM

An understanding of the magnitude of the problem can be quickly assessed with a handful of facts and figures. Mental retardation is defined as "subaverage general intellectual functioning which originates during the developmental period and is associated with impairment of adaptive behavior, and may be reflected in maturation, learning and/or social adjustment."[1]

This is a broad and very general definition that requires specification if it is to be operationally useful. Since intelligence is a trait which by definition fits a normal distri-

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[1] Adapted by Dr. James Munro from the "Report of the Task Force on Education and Rehabilitation", The President's Panel on Mental Retardation, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1962.

bution curve, approximately 3 per cent of the population about 5,500,000 children, deviates from the norm sufficiently to be called subnormal. Some experts consider this too low a cut-off point and would like to extend it to 4 and 5 per cent of the population by including IQ levels up to 80.[2]

The President's Panel on Mental Retardation breaks the term mental retardation down into various subcategories based on the degree of handicap. The "mild" category, the special interest of this paper, comprises all those with an IQ of 55-69 as determined by standard IQ tests. This is by far the largest subgroup, 5,000,000 persons. For educational purposes, this group has been labeled the educable mentally handicapped because their academic ability is sufficient to enable them to profit from a specialized curriculum. Their mental development and rate of progress is one-half to three-fourths that of the average student. At this rate, they will acquire about a fourth grade education by the mid-teen years. Vocabulary, speech, and language skills will serve them well in most ordinary situations. Most can do unskilled and semiskilled work which will make them self supporting as adults.[3]

In addition, most show no signs of brain pathology or any other physical defects. Considerations of this sort have led researchers to label these individuals the "garden variety"

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[2] Coleman, James, C., Psychology and Modern Life, Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1964, p. 518

[3] "Report of the Task Force on Education and Rehabilitation," President's Panel on Mental Retardation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1962, p. 4.

retardates, meaning to emphasize the indefinite etiological nature of the condition. This phrase becomes even more meaningful when statistice are cited which point to the sociocultural factors involved. The 1962 Presidential Panel revealed that 10 to 30 per cent of the school age children in deprived urban areas are classified as retarded, while only 1 or 2 per cent of those in the "better" neighborhoods of the same city are so designated. Marked improvement, approaching and even reaching normality, has been noted when family and socioeconomic conditions in these areas are improved.[4]

The majority in this group can master social and citizenship skills so that "following the school years they usually make an acceptable adjustment in the community and their identity as mentally retarded is lost."[5] Other authors have noted this successful transition which, in essence, involved the loss of a label. A series of research articles cited in the footnotes attests to the fact that there is no necessary or even usual relationship between the degree of mental subnormality and the individual's economic and social competence.[6] Dexter, a sociologist long concerned with this problem, has concluded that "the only important thing about retardation is that they undergo the experience

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[4] Coleman, op. cit., p. 521

[5] Ibid., p. 524.

[6] Muench, G.A., "A Followup of Mental Defectives after 18 Years" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 39 (1944), pp. 407-18. See also the bibliographic references in Masland, Richard L., Seymour B. Sarason and Thomas Gladwin, Mental Subnormality, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958.

of being classified and stigmatized as retarded."[7]

Researchers in the biological and psychological sciences have provided much of the foregoing data, including that which points to the significance of sociocultural factors. It is imperative that sociological inquiry be directed toward pinpointing the principles and processes involved in the definition of the mentally retarded child and his subsequent treatment.

II. A SOCIAL PROBLEMS APPROACH

Existing social theory can provide helpful insight by exposing the nature of a social problem, or social deviance. A social problem is defined as any "situation inherently requiring ameliorative treatment." It arises out of; 1) the objective characteristic of the subject defined as deviant, and/or 2) the characteristic values of the social structure which define the situation in a particular way.[8] The material thus far presented provides ample justification for concentrating on the second factor. It suggests that the "enormous burden which the existence of the intellectual havenots and haveless portions of the population places on the rest of us"[9] is a relative and problematic burden

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[7] Dexter, Louis A., The Tyranny of Schooling: An Inquiry into the Problems of Stupidity, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1964, p. 242.

[8] Fairchild, Henry Pratt, ed., Dictionary of Sociology, New York: Philosophical Library, 1944, p. 289.

[9] Leo Kanner, "The Place of the Exceptional Child in the Family Structure" in James F. Magery and John R. Eichorn, eds., The Exceptional Child, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960, p. 35.

that merits analytic investigation from a sociocultural vantage point.

For instance, the American Hutterite colonies do not have the problem, althoughthere is no evidence that intellectual ability is distributed any differently within this subcultural group. Even severely retarded individuals are seldom institutionalized, and the less severely handicapped are not in any way singled out as different.[10] The World Health Organization has surveyed the problem on an international basis and has concluded that the cultural complex, particularly the structure and demands of the public educational system is an important determinant of the number of children labeled as deficient and how they are handled.[11]

By what mechanisms are culturally defined standards mediated between the society at large and the handicapped children?

Friedson focused on the macro-phenomena, the formal control agencies with their attendant professionalization and bureacratization. These agencies seldom created deviant roles; but once in operation, their continued functioning necessitates clarifying boundaries, assuming controlling responsibilities and inevitably adding elements to the roles that may not have existed previously, and so pulling new people into them. It is a process of over-

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[10] Masland, op. cit., p. 224

[11] "The Mentally Subnormal Child" WHO Technical Report Series, 75.

representation by "drawing clearer lines than in fact exist."[12]

The most significant way this can be done is to require "acceptance of special treatment in a general community institution--the segregation in to special classrooms." This, Friedson asserts, is a rate-producing process which stimulates the community to organize its responses to the individual and, by segregating him, to encourage him to behave in accord with community expectations.[13]

Once this formal identification and treatment process has been initiated, Goffman observed that those who interact with the deviant "fail to recognize and respect the uncontaminated aspects of his social identity."[14] It is somewhat ironic that man's intelligence enables him to make minute discriminations between finely graded stimuli and, at the same time, to categorize, generalize, and ignore these distinctions. It is the recurrent problem of "halos, horns and averages": the tendency of the observor to generalize and assign sterotypes, to make an estimate or rating of one characteristic of a person while under the influence of another characteristic.[15]

Value Orientation and the Educational System

Now that the basic mechanisms, organizational overrepresentation,

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[12] Eliot Friedson, "Disability and Social Deviance", Sociology and Rehabilitation, Marvin B. Sussman, ed., Published by the American Sociological Association in cooperation with the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, p. 83

[13] Ibid., p. 87

[14] Ibid., p. 84

[15] Don C. Dinkmeyer, Child Development: The Emerging Self (New Jersey, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 49

sterotyping and self-fulfilling prophecy, have been identified, it is appropriate to elaborate on their qualitative content and operation.

When a society's members define a certain behavior or individual as deviant, their patterned reactions inevitably reflect the major value orientations of that society. According to Parsons a "value orientation is a set of linked propositions embracing both value and existential elements" such as ought statements, emotional response, differential effort and consistent directionality.[16] Parsons affirms Robin Williams' conclusion that a dominant orientation in our society is individualistic achievement and success. Movement through the educational system serves as the major instrumental value for the attainment of this goal.

More recently, Hodgekinson proposed a basic modification of this formulation. Education is no longer a means or instrumental value, but a "defining critereon" in its own right. Because education is sought for the prestige it offers rather than for the occupational doors it opens, status distinctions within the school system have taken on greater significance. The author summarized research evidence showing that preferential status is achieved on an informal basis by those teachers who teach on the highest educational level, work with the gifted students and teach the "hard" (math, science and foreign languages) subjects as opposed

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[16] Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951) pp. 404-9.

to the "soft" sugjects.[17]

There are two major implications of this type of internal status structuring that bear directly on the problems of the retarded students. First, a preference for the "cream of the crop" implies the possible rejection, or at least neglect, of the children in the lower half of the ability distribution. Second, these students are still likely to be subjected to unrealistic pressures to reach a normal level of achievement; and, in the process, they are likely to be inculcated with academic standards and values. This is likely to be dysfunctional for the realistic performance of adult roles, and while the child is in school it may lead to alienation and frustration that blocks the use of existing potential.[18]

Citing many of these same reasons, Dexter verbally blasted "the tyranny of schooling." He indicts the current institutional arrangement of free public schools and compulsory education as little more than an "initiation rite" with no meaningful relationship to the future adult roles of many of the students.

> More specifically, many influential people in our society--including particularly classroom teachers (the carriers *par excellence* of public middle class culture) show more repugnance toward stupidity than towards anything else except dirtiness.[19]

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[17] Harold L. Hodgekinson, *Education, Interaction and Social Change* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967) p. 107.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 2

Dexter's conclusions were based on speculative conviction rather than empirical validation, but a multitude of sources from educational sociology lend credence to his contentions. The first classic in the area, Waller's 1932 publication of the Sociology of Teaching, discussed the "Separate Culture of the Classroom" as a cultural pigeonholing process based on subtle differences in intelligence. He added,

> There is a character ideal of the teacher;...(It usually implies that the individual puts academic above other considerations, is conscientious in his duties and exacting in the demands he makes upon himself and others).[20]

Cox and Mercer echoed this theme in their discourses on education in a democracy. Our teachers, they said, give "ceremonial obeisance" to the "magical fetishes of learning and scholarship" without questioning the retionale or implication.[21] The authors colorfully described the school system as an enormous sorting machine with conveyor belts and chutes, sorting and stamping the students according to intellectual capability. They concluded, "It is difficult to conceive the teacher's social role in America as being anything but an expression of middle class values."[22]

Two recent and exhaustive summaries of the literature on the sociology of education independently concluded that there is sufficient evidence ranging from national surveys to community

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20 Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932) p. 103.

21 Phillip Cox and Blaine Mercer, Education in Democracy: Social Foundation of Education (New York: McGraw Hill, 1961) p. 132.

22 Ibid., p. 49, 109.

studies that the value placed on formal education is unconsciously restricted by class and unconsciously communicated to students. Although the teacher frequently originates from a lower class position, an "arriveste" reaction to the new social position leads to internalization of the middle class norms.[23]

This review of the literature may seem like an unnecessarily redundant rephrasing of one issue--the class determined intellectual orientation of the teacher. But the repetition should serve to stress the prevalence of this point of view over time and among authors of divergent interests. The propositions are logical and reasonable, but not proven. It is equally possible to conclude from casual observation and perusal of educational literature that the grade school teacher's role is defined, at least explicitly, in non-academic terms. The ideal teacher often appears to be painted as a substitute parent taking a maternal interest in the whole child and his general well being. Which emphasis sets the scene and guides a teacher's classroom behavior is a moot point, but it should not remain in the realm of speculative discussion.

Gross is one of the few scholars who holds a tentative position on the issue and takes exception to the overriding emphasis placed on class values. The empirical support, he maintains, is very limited, method-logically weak, and outdated.

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[23] Robert Bell, "Social Class Values and the Teacher", The Sociology of Education, Gottlieb Brookover, ed., (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962) p. 184.

> We have only limited knowledge of the social and cultural forces within and outside the classroom that affect classroom interaction and learning...The possibility that there may be considerable variability in the values of teachers and students has largely been ignored. An examination of the actual values... constitutes a priority research need in the sociology of education.[24]

III. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

Gross' challenge to replace plausible descriptions with systematic theoretic and empirical analysis provided the most important justification for the research to be proposed here. It is necessary to ascertain the existence of certain social facts rather than to use them as assumptions. Specifically, the following questions need to be asked.

I. Are elementary school teachers a homogeneous group whose teaching performance can best be understood as a reflection of middle class values?

   A. Since there are obvious differences in teachers' attitudes, opinions, and actions, can these be understood as variations on the central theme of class; or are there definable and separate clusters of value orientations which can be used as alternative formulations to the class concept?

   B. Middle class is a broad term and it is difficult to develop suitable criteria for placement of teachers. They are predominantly women, with the same occupation

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[24] Neal Gross, "The Sociology of Education", Sociology Today, Vol. 1, Robert Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965) p. 141, 148

and educational achievement, and with social status partly ascribed on the basis of their husband's occupation. Are there any traditional criteria which correlate consistently with observed variations in attitude, or is it more profitable to look for subjective factors?

II. Exactly what are the elementary school teachers' attitudes toward the retarded students?

A. Are the attitudes classifiable on a positive-negative continum, or is a more sophisticated classification necessary?

B. Can these responses be codified in current sociological terminology as well as in terms of psychological, emotional reactions?

C. Are these attitudes consistently related to the value orientations of the teachers, especially the postulated tendency to evaluate the retardate primarily on the basis of his intellectual subnormality?

The answers to these questions will augment our knowledge of many specific sociological concerns, particularly the class related features of attitudes.

A defense of the worth of this project can also be made on a more general level. As already suggested, the field of mental retardation has been subject to selective inattention by the majority of social science researchers even though it has been frequently skirted by studies of IQ change, cultural deprivation, and so on.

By tackling this problem, one step will be taken to correct current neglect, and advance the cause of general social theory by incorporating into it a group of cases not covered heretofore. The proposed research has drawn some of its points of emphasis and basic concepts from the middle range role-theory. If the research is fruitful, the findings should advance the theory itself by demonstrating its applicability to a new area of study.

Any research contributions from a sociological point of view will be an active recognition of the holistic conception of human nature, a working acceptance of the dynamic interrelationships between social, psychological and biological phenomena. As such, it will encourage the development of a unitary theory of human behavior.

On a more pragmatic basis, it can be noted that even an affluent society finds it difficult to meet the increasing institutional and economic burdens involved in the treatment of mental deficiency with its repercussions on family life and structure. Recognizing that cultural values are not readily ammenable to change, it is still possible that the results of social research can lead to a restructuring of professional effort to more adequately take into account the social variables that influence the diagnosis and outcome. For all who accept the assumption of the basic worth and dignity of each individual, any research is welcomed which will aid the efficient and realistic treatment of the individual retardate.

Finally, the initial impetus for this project was provided by a personal sense of curiosity and concern; the execution of the

project will, hopefully be a source of personal satisfaction and education, and a stimulant to further study and involvement in the general area of retardation.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The following chapter will review and evaluate the most important empirical investigations on the subject in order to provide some clues to the most relevant variables and how to deal with them. Since the material reviewed is rather fragmentary and atheoretical, it was felt that a more coherent framework was needed from which to draw testable hypotheses. Chapter III will attempt to develop such an overview based on some concepts drawn from role theory. The essential features of the research design will be presented in Chapter IV along with their major limitations and implications. The remainder of the thesis will present and analyze those findings which appear to be significant, and draw general conclusions.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

Four research articles will be presented in this chapter. Three are limited in scope and contain methodological weaknesses which restrict generalizations. Because of the paucity of empirical information in this area it was felt that the findings were suggestive enough to merit summarization. The fourth report is a large scale survey, comprehensive in content and coverage, that contains a number of useful approaches for investigating major variables.

A study by Downey concerned the parental decision making processes involved in the institutionalization of retarded children.[25] Downey found that the usual indices of class status, occupation and income were not systematically related to the decision making, the level of interest shown in the child after commitment, nor the age at commitment.

Instead, he found these factors varied with the educational attainment of the parents. He surmised that the educational experience of the parents led them to view the children in terms of their inability to be educated and to fulfill life roles which required such academic achievement. In his own words,

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[25] Kenneth Downey, "The Institutionalized Mentally Retarded Child" Social Problems (Fall, 1963) p. 186-192.

> ...apparently the educational experience of our more educated parents not only forms the basis of what is desirable for the child, but also how this can be accomplished...He is placed at an early age because he cannot fill the roles and follow the career that the well educated family has planned for him, and because his parents anticipate he will be a social deviant unable to conform to their career expectations.[26]

Relating these findings to the teacher, it is reasonable to suggest that since all teachers are middle class, almost by definition, attention should be focused on variable aspects of their educational experience. This should include their subjective preferences, commitment to educational goals, the type of training and experience within the school system. Hopefully, these factors will vary systematically for the teachers as they did for the parents.

The two following investigations were more directly related to the teacher's role. Rosen interviewed a small sample of mothers to ascertain the time and means by which they became aware of their children's handicap.[27] In 50 per cent of the cases the parents were informed of the problem by a teacher in the primary grades. The significant aspect of the findings is that this relatively late awareness did not seem to be related to the intellectual or parental competence of the mother, nor to the severity of the retardation. In other words, the children were apparently functioning at a reasonably efficient and socially acceptable level until their behavior was redefined by the teacher.

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[26] Ibid., p. 192.

[27] Leonard Rosen, "Selected Aspects in the Development of the Mothers: Understanding of Her Mentally Retarded Child", American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 59, (January, 1955) p. 522-28.

Unfortunately, Rosen did not interview the teachers to determine why their identifications were made, nor what attributes of the child entered into the decision. It is the position of this paper that Rosen's approach is inadequate. A realistic understanding of the interpersonal interaction in the classroom cannot be developed unless the dynamics of the relationship are probed.

It is indicative of the neglect of this subject that only one empirical study was uncovered which dealt directly with teachers' attitudes toward the retarded.[28] Semmel presented a series of factual and attitudinal items for agreement or disagreement to a large group of New York City regular and special education teachers. As predicted, the special education teachers had considerably more knowledge; but both groups expressed similar and somewhat favorable, responses to the attitude items.

Semmel accounted for his results in terms of his research design. The items, chosen in a random survey fashion without any theoretic guidelines, overrepresented the more common stereotypes and generalizations. This, he felt, tended to encourage answers based on the social desirability response set. In addition, the agree-disagree format probably did not permit expression of the full range of possible variations in attitudes, and thus did not give a very clear picture of the teachers' actual feelings and opinions. Both of these limitations would greatly reduce the sensitivity of

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[28] Melvyn J. Semmel, "Teacher Attitudes and Information Pertaining to Mental Deficiency" American Journal of Mental Deficiency, 58, pp. 566-74.

the instrument when used on a relatively sophisticated group of subjects. These problems probably could have been alleviated by drawing items on the basis of theoretic considerations and by allowing the teachers more choices, including the opportunity to respond to open-ended questions.

The final study, a federally sponsored nationwide survey by Gottwald in late 1967, was designed to survey comprehensively public attitudes and awareness of mental retardation.[29] The project was designed and carried out by professional social science researchers and the procedures used appear to meet rigorous standards for objective research, making the results particularly valuable. Topics covered ranged from the meaning of mental retardation to a section probing reactions to miscellaneous traits attributed to the retardate. One series of questions dealing with appropriate roles and the "social worth" of the retarded is directly relevant to this project, and the basic format of some of Gottwald's questions was appropriated.

The results of the study were presented in long lists of numerical totals with little verbal summary or analysis. Therefore, brevity and clarity will be served by reserving detailed discussion for Chapter V in which results will be related to comparable questions. In general, Gottwald's results suggested a low level of awareness of the problem, factual confusion, wide variability in responses, and somewhat unfavorable responses to the attitude sections.

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[29] Henry Gottwald, "Public Awareness About Mental Retardation: A Survey and Analysis" (Abbreviated Version) Department of Health, Education and Welfare Publication, 1967, 32 pages.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The preceding review of the research literature is notable for its lack of theoretic direction. The advancement of any scientific discipline requires that theory and research be mutually supportive and interactive. This facilitates the conceptualization of major variables and the formulation of hypotheses. It provides a coherent and consistent basis for analysis and, ideally, contributes to the theory building process by giving added support or suggesting needed modifications.

I. BASIC CONCEPTS OF ROLE THEORY

The interactionist interpretation of role theory was chosen as an interesting and satisfactory means of meeting this need for an overall theoretical framework. Role taking is a key concept of this school. It can broadly be defined as the capacity of an individual to construct personifications and impute motives to others, to understand the other's mode of action sufficiently to use the knowledge as a guide for one's own responses.[30] It necessarily involves a projection of one's own actual and vicarious experiences. Thus, limitations are placed on role taking ability as a result of personal background factors, one of which is culturally prescribed behavior patterns.

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[30] Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1961) pp. 505-507.

Role taking, or social perception, as McCall terms it, is thus a selective process in which a certain amount of sterotyping inevitable enters into every appraisal of another human being. The accuracy of role taking is dependent in part upon the clarity and conventionality of the role involved, and the actor's personal familiarity with it. But, equally important is the following thoughtfully worded consideration about social distance between roles.

> Through this process of social perception we appraise the things and people around us and strive to assess what meanings they may have for the fulfillment of our role identities... The perception of other people and objects as threats, as opportunities, or as irrelevants...is somewhat arbitrary from the standpoint of their "objective natures" and in many cases such meanings cannot be derived from knowledge of such objective qualities.
>
> It is in this sense that we can be said to interact not with individuals and objects, but with our images of them... clothes in identities and meanings. We tend to perceive only the gross outlines of people and events that lie any distance from our own position in the social structure.[31]

Although the centrality of academic-intellectual values in the teachers' life style is still open to question, it can be assumed that if teaching is viewed as an academic profession, then those individuals who do not do well in an academic setting will fit into McCall's category of people lying at great distance from the teaching profession. If this assumption holds true it follows that the child's actual attributes will be but poorly perceived and perceptions will be colored by values and experiences peculiar

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[31] George McCall and J.L. Simmons, Identities and Interactions (New York: The Free Press, 1966) pp. 105, 107.

to the teaching position. Is it possible that the retardate will then be seen as irrelevant, without meaning for the fulfillment of the teacher's chosen role? What kind of a role will be assigned to the retarded student?

A role is defined as "prescribed patterns of behavior expected of a person in a given situation by virtue of his position" in the relationship.[32] Waller attempted to specify the nature of the relationship between a role and a social attitude. He observed that most social attitudes partake of the nature of social roles in that attitudes are "subtle suggestion processes", identification mechanisms used to assign roles and thereby to control the students.[33] More recently, specialists in the area of mental retardation stated that cultural sterotyping "generates unwarranted pressures.. to get rid of the problem through the self defeating device of institutionalization (in remote places)...."[34]

Earlier in this paper (page 9), Dexter asserted that teachers' attitudes reflected feelings of hostility, repugnance, and rejection of the stupidity and slowness epitomized by the retardate. The role theory concepts presented in this chapter suggest social distance, irrelevance, and minimal formal interaction. This is a qualitatively distinct set of attitudes. Any investigative effort must attempt to determine which is operative. In conjunction with

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[32] Shibutani, op. cit., p. 46.

[33] Waller, op. cit., pp. 321-324.

[34] Masland, op. cit., p. 308

the latter cluster of factors, we may ask is the retarded child is not thereby relegated to a permanent sort of "non-role" in the society.

II. APPLICATION OF ROLE THEORY TO DEVIANT ROLES

Two sociologists have attempted to utilize the basic principles of role theory to characterize two deviant groups in our society--the sick and the mentally ill. Both conceptualizations will be briefly summarized. The resultant ideas should be considered as ideal constructs which can be used as sensitizing concepts, rather than precise models. With the insight acquired, a few central questions will be raised and working hypotheses formulated around a conception of the retardate role.

Parsons proposed three institutionalized norms which appear to accompany the "sick role" in our society. The sick individual is conditionally relieved of normal role responsibilities and is not held responsible for his illness. Therefore, others must assume responsibility for his care, but only so long as the subject accepts his moral duty to get well by seeking and cooperating with competent help.[35]

Reviewers of Parsons' approach conclude that the stress on actor motivation and temporary conditions limits its capacity to facilitate the analysis of "secondary deviancy"--those stigmatized roles which are ascribed by the society and which often involve

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[35] August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, A Community Study (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958) p. 350.

incurable but improvable states.[36]

Nevertheless, Hollingshead and Redlich found the basic approach "clearly applicable to psychiatric disorders"; and their modification of the basic norms to suit this particular set of cases brings us closer to applying the concepts to the retardate.

In evaluating the role of the mentally ill, the authors concluded that although normal role responsibilities are dispensed with, "Attitudes are such that he is far more likely to be removed from society than he is to feel he should get well."[37] The majority of lower class patients observed failed indeed to respond to clinical treatment. A dynamic interpretation of the phenomenon was made possible by probing the values and attitudes of the therapistas revealed in complaints about the interaction process. The psychiatrists characterized these patients as dull, stupid, apathetic, dependent, lacking in self-insight, having poor communicative ability, and requiring continual repetition. In brief, "The gulf between the psychiatrist and patient may be explained in part at least by the lower class status patients' lack of education."[38]

There are many striking similarities between the above summary of attributes and the popular characterization of the mentally handicapped; these similarities raise a number of fruitful questions for defining the nature of the educable retarded child's role in

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[36] Friedson, op. cit., p. 801

[37] Hollingshead and Redlich, op. cit., p. 352

[38] Ibid., p. 345

society. Is the child ever expected to get well, or show substantial improvement? Are normal role responsibilities permanently rather than temporarily dispensed with? Does society accept the responsibility for their care; and if so, in what way? Does it involve removal, segregation, special treatment or disregard? Are the teachers major complaints about interaction with them similar to those made by the psychiatrist about his clients?

III. DEFINITIONS OF MAJOR TERMS

Most of the terms used have a common sense meaning observable from the context of the sentence, but for purposes of clarity and precision the most important terms will be more carefully defined and discussed in the next few paragraphs.

A social attitude is most frequently defined as a "readiness to respond." But since it is practically impossible to determine how closely verbal responses preview situational responses, this definition presented operational drawbacks. Consequently, the following definition was chosen as more adequate. A social attitude is a consistency in response to a social object presented in verbal or written form.[39]

The traditional approach to attitude study breaks down the measurement into three subcategories. Each of these can be reworded to conform to the terminology of role theory.

a. Cognitive component: beliefs and opinions held about the actual nature of the condition.

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[39] Martin Fishbein, Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967) p. 175.

b. Affective component: the respondent's perception of the nature of interpersonal interaction. This involves factors such as emotional reaction, interests in, involvement with, and problems related to such interaction.

c. Conative component: this can deal with the more conventional aspects of the retardate's role in society, including an evaluation of the actions appropriate to the state and community and the respondents' perception of the role playing ability of the retardate.

An attempt will be made to relate the overall attitudinal configuration to the basic values of the teacher. "A value is defined as a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes and ends of action."[40] A value orientation is simply a broader term to refer to "meaningfully and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior---They establish the criteria which influence the individual's perferences and goals' they act as spectacles through which the individual sees himself and his environment."[41]

For the purposes of this study the values of concern can be conveniently subsumed under the general heading of Academic-Intellectual Value Orientations. The following subdivision was devised to facilitate the investigation.

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[40] Clyde Kluckhohn as cited by Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome" American Sociological Review, 21, 1956, p. 207.

[41] Ibid., p. 205

a. General values, or basic "life styles": those objects, events, and persons which provide major satisfactions, provide motivating force, influence work patterns, and determine preferences for types of students and class assignments.

b. Role conceptions: perceived behavioral and goal requirements appropriate to the role of grade school teacher.

c. Self-other evaluations: preferences and bases for evaluating friends and students.

The preceding breakdown of variables is not meant to be exhaustive, nor is it known that each subclassification is of equal importance. It is only hoped that they are sufficiently inclusive and sensitive to give an adequate preliminary representation of teachers' attitudes and values as investigated in relation to the following working hypotheses.

IV. HYPOTHESES

I. The majority of teachers will exhibit choice behavior which reflects a preference for the academic-intellectual values.

II. The majority of teachers will express predominantly negative attitudes toward the educable mentally retarded students.

A. This negative evaluation will include a dislike for working with the retardate and an unfavorable assessment of his ability to function in basic social roles.

B. The teacher who manifests a high degree of positive orientation to the academic-intellectual indices will also have the most negative attitudes toward the retarded students and will base their attitudes on the students' lack of intellectual potential.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

The essential nature of the investigation has already been defined as exploratory--a preliminary attempt to provide sufficient confirmation of the relevance of the proposed variables to justify further research, and at the same time, to contribute to our meager understanding of this area.

I. SAMPLE

Under these circumstances it was decided that a quota sample of eighty teachers would be drawn from the Missoula Elementary School District. Three-fourths were drawn from the first four grades, since these teachers would be most often involved in dealing with and identifying children in their classrooms as retarded. The remaining fourth was drawn from the upper four grades. The five teachers of special education classrooms were included in the total. It was hoped that approximately sixty usable forms would be returned.

No precise sampling procedures were used, but an attempt was made to select schools from a variety of geographic and socio-economic sections of the city. Of the nineteen schools in the district, containing approximately 360 teachers of self-contained classrooms, the following seven were included in the sample: Central, C.S. Porter, Whittier, Emma Dickinson, Paxson, Hawthorne, and Willard. In the first three schools, in which special education classrooms are operated, the entire teaching staff was given a

questionnaire. The remaining schools were samples in order to meet the stated quota.

In order to insure a high return rate and to encourage better respondent involvement and cooperation, the original procedural plan called for a brief personal contact with each teacher explaining both purpose and mechanics. With this end in mind, the principals of each school were contacted during the second week of May, 1968. All of them were attentive and cooperative. The first two principals contacted suggested that the forms be placed in the teachers' mailboxes, in the belief that the teachers would be more responsive the less time demanded of them. On the basis of their judgement and for uniformity of procedure, the original plan was altered to follow this routine. The five special education teachers were contacted personally during these visits, and arrangements were made to observe in four of the classrooms and to conduct informal interviews.

In retrospect, this change probably accomplished the goal of a high return rate better than the original plan. All of the forms were distributed in 3 days, considerably less than would have been involved with personal contact deliveries, thus enabling the teachers to complete the forms before the press of end-of-the-year duties became too intense.

II. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

Questionnaire

The development of a questionnaire suitable for exploring so wide a range of variables required some presumptousness and a good bit of luck. In preparing to develop a series of questions the author engaged several teachers in informal conversations about their classroom experiences. Many of the questions and laternative choices offered in the final form reflected the spontaneous comments of these teachers. A number of questions were adapted from the research literature covered during preliminary readings. Credit is given in the footnote below to these sources.[42] The reamining questions were designed specifically for this project. Most were given a "cafeteria style" format to allow for the expression of a wide variety of alternatives. Most response categories represented either an egocentric or other-centered approach to basic value orientations such as economic, spiritual, social, intellectual or pragmatic.

The initial form was put through an informal pretesting for clarity and face validity by administration to a group of twelve individuals, equally divided between friends and "sociological strangers." Only minor modifications and additions resulted. A cover letter was added to explain the nature of the project, enlist cooperation and especially to encourage additional comments.

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[42] Otto H. Dahlke, Values in Culture and Classroom, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); Herbert Hyman, Survey Design and Analysis (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957); Gottwald, op. cit.,; and the appendix of Charles F. Westoff, Robert G. Potter, Jr., Phillip C. Sagi and Elliot Mishler, Family Growth in Metropolitan America, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press) 1961.

The final questionnaire is reprinted in full in Appendix A.

Classroom Observations and Interviews

There are many uncontrolled and unmeasurable sources of distortion in any questionnaire, particularly a lengthy self-administered form prepared by a neophyte researcher. It was felt that a number of personal interviews would counteract this problem in part by giving some insight into the myriad ramifications involved in the choice of any one answer to a question. Four teachers of the retarded (one each from the four teaching levels: pre-primary, primary, intermediate and junior high) were interviewed with the aid of a semi-structured interview schedule. The choice of these teachers was made to help assess in what way, if any, these teachers differed from the regular teachers. If the results of these interviews complimented or correlated with the questionnaire results, it was felt that greater confidence could be placed in the accuracy and significance of the data.

Permission was obtained to observe three morning sessions of special education classrooms (pre-primary, a combination primary-intermediate and junior high). This third step was added out of personal interest and on the basic assumption that classroom interaction patterns are conditioned by conceptions of self and other which the teacher does not or cannot always verbalize and categorize.

A team of social science researchers, Lewis, Newell and Withall, have developed a general system of categories suitable for operational description of classroom communication, both verbal and nonverbal.

Since any observation is easily contaminated by the presuppositions of the observor, some of these categories were selected as pertinent for this observation, and were used as general guidelines in reporting and recording the interaction observed. Of the fourteen categories, seven seemed well suited for this summary: 1) shows positive feeling; 2) shows negative feeling; 3) seeks or accepts direction; 4) listens; 5) inhibits communication; 6) perfunctory agreement or disagreement; and 7) gives direction. Since these categories were used primarily as a guide, not as part of a precisely designed research model, there is no need to discuss them at length. For those interested, further elaboration of this system can be found in the footnoted manual.[43]

III. LIMITATIONS AND PROBLEMS

The problem has been stated and the means of attacking it have been proposed. It now becomes necessary to examine some of the limitations and problems inherent in the study.

The most obvious restriction placed on the findings and conclusions has already been alluded to: the paucity of research information to specify the nature of the variables and how best to investigate them. The purpose then can only be to search for meaningful findings in a descriptive fashion and to suggest possible orderings and relationships of the data. Hypotheses, although carefully stated, cannot be rigorously tested. Elements of intuition and "serendipity" will undoubtedly enter into the

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[43] Edgar F. Borgatta and Betty Crowther, A workbook for the Study of Social Interaction Processes (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965) pp. 11-12.

analysis even though these factors cannot demonstrate the validity of the interpretation. This places stingent restrictions on generalizations.

The relevance of any body of data to a larger theory is limited by a number of considerations. Even the treatment of two main clusters of variables provokes problems of pseudo-findings and spurious relationships, especially when neither of the main variables is very well understood. This can be compensated for by exercising caution in interpreting totals and by paying close attention to qualifying comments made by the respondents.

The method used suggests a second set of limitations. Social attitudes are a focal investigative concern of social psychology, and yet there is still no full agreement as to the best definition of the term. Highly sophisticated procedures exist for their measurement, but this does obviate the confusion about precisely what has been obtained and how the findings relate to actual behavior. This is a problem which cannot be solved here, only recognized.

It is a well known and frequently verified fact that questionnaire response consistency is considerably less than 100 percent, even over short periods of time, but uncertainty exists as to whether the variation should be interpreted as falsification, superficial answers, or actual fluctuations in attitudinal structures. At the same time, a word should be added to keep matters in perspective.

> It is not to be assumed, moreover, that questionnaire data are any less accurate than other forms of communication such as the interview or the personal document. We are dealing here with a fundamental imperfection in interpersonal communication.[44]

The magnitude of error introduced by the given procedure is unknown, although inadequate wording of some alternatives to some of the questions would appear to be an important problem, perhaps unnaturally loading the responses into certain categories.

The preceding paragraphs present a rather formidable list of problems and weaknesses. These should not suggest a negative approach to the project, nor a sense of pointlessness to the worth of the project. Sociology has become very sensitive to the problems involved in building a theory of human behavior and hopes to compensate in part by making the problems explicit, in the belief that such overt expression will provide some measure of control or compensation. Scientific inquiry always demands objective humility in combination with enough bravado to tackle a problem which demands and deserves attention.

These remarks should be sufficient to permit a realistic attempt to summarize and analyze the findings of the research in the next chapter.

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[44] John Cuber and John B. Geverich, "A Note on Consistency in Questionnaire Responses" American Sociological Review (February, 1946) p. 14.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

A complete presentation of all the data gathered would be both impossible and unnecessary. The questions touched on a wide range of topics. Those which did not seem to yield directly significant and relatively unambiguous information will be bypassed.

The data will first be discussed in terms of the two major variables, academic-intellectual orientation and attitude toward the retarded. The statistics used will be limited to numerical totals, percentages, and a few simple cross-tabulations where meaningful. Anything more sophisticated would misrepresent the degree of precision attained and obscure the main objective which was to establish some general trends and patterns.

The presentation of the data will be followed by an evaluation of the degree of support the data gave to the proposed hypotheses, its similarity to other empirical studies, and its relationship to the theoretic discussions referred to in Chapter III.

The spontaneous comments of the interviewees will be inserted at any point at which they appear to illustrate, clairfy or qualify the questionnaire data. The information garnered from the special education teachers will not be treated independently, but will also be referred to when it diverges sufficiently from the overall trends to merit separate consideration.

The supplementary classroom observations and interviews will

be separately summarized and briefly commented upon. It was felt that this was worthwhile for two reasons. First, by focusing attention on the complexity and diversity of the attitudes as they operated within a single individual, these observations counteracted the simplistic and fragmented interpretations that could so easily be drawn from individual questions. Second, these findings provided enlightening additions to the basic data by indicating both the need for and the possible means to a reformulation of some basic theoretic points.

I. THE GENERAL FINDINGS

In an earlier discussion three general criteria were established to assess the degree of confidence that could initially be placed in the overall findings. The first criterion required a minimum completed form return of 50 per cent. The actual return reached a surprisingly high 86.3 per cent, sixty-nine of the original eighty forms. These were scattered evenly among the seven schools, indicating a uniformly high level of cooperation. The breakdown of returns by grade was also approximately the same as the handout distribution: forty-five from the first four grades, nineteen from the upper four; and five from the special education rooms.

A second criterion related to the rate of return based on the assumption that a prompt return would be indicative of genuinely interested cooperation. The return rate was completed in two waves: two-thirds of the forms were received within 4 days after delivery; the remaining third was received about 2 weeks

later, representing those who elected to complete the form after the school year recess. This was considered prompt enought to meet the standard established.

The third criterion, the volume of spontaneous additional comments, was considered the most crucial. Approximately half of the forms included such remarks. Of these, about 80 per cent were subjectively evaluated by the author as "good", that is, high in both quality and quantity. Considering these factors, along with the added advantage of precisely recorded comments, it was felt that the comments were quite as informative and reliable as any that might have been acquired in more lengthy personal interviews.

Although the interviewees did not fall into convenient sociological categories that correlated with the kinds of answers given to the questions, it was still necessary to describe and classify them before preceding with the body of the data.

Classification of the Respondents

1. Sex, age and marital status. In line with a frequently made observation, the Missoula grade school classrooms are dominated by women: in this case, fifty-nine of the sixty-four respondents. The five male teachers all taught in the upper four grades, and there was one male special education teacher.

The group breakdown as presented in Table I is interesting because the table is skewed toward the two extremes of age and heavily loaded in the married category.

TABLE I

MARITAL STATUS OF TEACHERS BY AGE GROUPS

AGE GROUP	Total No. of cases	Per cent of total	Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed
21-30	25	43.2	22	3	0	0
31-40	5	8.6	4	0	1	0
41-50	10	17.2	6	0	0	3
51-61	18	31.0	11	2	1	5
Totals	58	100.0	43	5	2	8

Although thirty-four of the forty-five married teachers have children, the table shows that only four parents are represented in the 21-30 age bracket. Half of the oldest group falls outside the married category. This indicates a high drop-out rate during the peak child raising years. It also suggests that a major appeal of the teaching profession may lie in its availability to the married women, especially the young married and the widowed.

2. Educational characteristics. The teachers' professional credentials were uniformly high. Only one teacher did not have a B.A. degree and five had completed work on an M.A. Only six had not taken their B.A. in elementary education and these teachers were working with the upper grades.

Years of teaching experience ranged from 3 months to 38 years, with 10 years the mean. It was interesting to note that thirteen

women had spouses with a lower educational status than their own; one husband had only an eighth grade education; another five had completed high school. It would be worthwhile to relate this to a more adequate sample of teachers to see if the pattern is applicable to teachers as a whole group since it is an exception to the sociological generalization that "women marry up." Various other subjective aspects of the teaching experiences of these teachers, such as their likes and dislikes, will be dealt with in the following sections.

II. ACADEMIC-INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION

It was explained in Chapter III that this broad term was chosen to describe three main variables somewhat arbitrarily chosen as the most sensitive for measuring the centrality of intellectually biased values in the teachers' overall value complex. Since many of the questions were rather lengthy, some tables contain categorical abbreviations of the actual wording in order to facilitate a smoother and quicker reading of the tables.

A. General Values

In this section the investigation focused on central goals and satisfactions which might help account for or relate to basic life styles and work patterns. Table II summarizes the respondents' selection of major goals which they felt would contribute most to future contentment.

TABLE II

LIFE GOALS CONTRIBUTING MOST TO TEACHERS' PERSONAL CONTENTMENT

TYPE OF GOAL	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Marital	3	4.6
Financial	6	9.2
Aesthetic	11	16.9
Spiritual	13	20.6
Social	14	21.5
Intellectual	17	26.2
TOTALS	64	100.0

The tabulations in Table II provoked two preliminary observations. First, there was a wide spread in the choices made. This scatter will be apparent again and again in future questions. It provided an early reminder that there will be few easy generalizations that will adequately encompass the diversity and complexity of the subjects under consideration.

The second observation, a substantive one, concerns the content of the choices made by the teachers. Only one-quarter of the teachers gave primary emphasis to intellectual achievement as a major life goal. The hypotheses predicted a larger number of responses in this category. The failure of this pattern to materialize is the first indication of a trend that is to continue throughout the responses.

Responses were less scattered when the wording was made more specific by asking for a choice between activities providing the most personal satisfaction. The choices were almost evenly divided between family relationships (40 per cent) and teaching career (47 per cent). Regarding the use of free time on weekends, the role of the family and home based activities increased: three out of four would rather "relax at home" or "visit with friends" than read, engage in sports or go to the movies.

One question in this section was worded to allow the teachers a moment of fantasy. By encouraging them to think in "as if" terms instead of "oughts", it was hoped that differences might be revealed which would otherwise be obscured. This expectation was born out in the findings. In contrast to the actual use of leisure time, as discussed in the predeeding paragraph, only half as many, 38 per cent, indicated they really preferred relaxing at home; and 45 per cent, indicated that they would prefer the excitement of travel. The most significant aspect of the question was that only three would care to spend the time teaching and only six would return to school to further their own educations.

B. Teaching Career

Since so few teachers showed an interest in using leisure time in a career oriented manner, it would be worthwhile to look at their attitudes toward, and evaluation of, their work. All but one of the teachers expressed satisfaction with their work-a-day life with either a positive "like it very much" or "like

it most of the time." Only six said they were not pleased with the teaching assignment they had received for this particular school year.

What is it about teaching that satisfies them, and what motivated their initial choice of a teaching career? Tables III and IV summarize the responses to these questions.

TABLE III

MAIN REASON FOR CHOICE OF TEACHING AS A CAREER

	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Supplementary income	3	4.2
Economic necessity	10	14.2
Intellectual challenge	13	19.1
Like being with children	41	60.1
Other	2	3.0
TOTALS	69	100.0

This question elicited quite a number of additional comments based on a wider variety of reasons than those offered. Two young women expressed the following distinctively different points of view: "Mother saw to it I received an education to earn a living."; and, "I felt children were entitled to better teachers (which I hope to be)."

Table IV summarizes the sources of satisfaction found in teaching. The bulk of the responses revealed either a child centered or an intellectual orientation.

TABLE IV

MAIN SATISFACTION DERIVED FROM TEACHING

	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Good income	4	5.8
Freedom to work independently	7	10.1
Like being with children	24	34.8
Developing child's mental abilities	34	49.3
Totals	69	100.0

1. Commitment to work. It has already been shown that the teachers overwhelmingly enjoy their work. Since a value is not merely a statement of affirmation and acceptance, there are any number of additional indices for measuring commitment to the profession and to educational standards. These indices may take the form of checking long term willingness to plan and sacrifice and to make choices between potentially equally appealing alternatives.

In this area, as in the questions devoted to general values, responses varied considerably with the wording of the question, but the trends were consistent. One question asked, "Are you planning to stay in the teaching profession for as long as you work?" Sixty answered yes. The teachers were asked, "Is your work as satisfying to you as the time you spend at home?" Slightly fewer, fifty-four teachers, answered this in the affirmative. This is still an undeniably high level of satis-

faction. The commitment to career became somewhat weaker when the "as if" element was added. If they were "financially independent" 30 per cent would no longer want to teach.

2. Commitment to formal educational goals. In Chapter III, a brief survey was made of those authors who asserted the teachers' unquestioning regard for the value of formal education. The results of a series of questions in this investigation lend strong support to their contentions.

"Is the struggle many parents have to give their children a college education 'worth the price'?" There was a 95 per cent affirmative reply to this question. There were very few qualifying remarks added to indicate that it might depend on the child's interests and abilities or other demands on family finances.

All but nine teachers felt chances were only fair or poor for a student to find a worthwhile, satisfying job without a college degree. This was viewed as an exceptionally high figure considering the relatively small proportion of our population which has such a degree, and in light of the vast number of positions which do not require it. As of 1967 there were only twenty-eight graduates from all institutions of higher education per 10,000 population per annum.[45]

One possible reason for this response may be that the teachers read into the question their own family situation and

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[45] Morris L. Ernst and Judity A. Posner, eds., The comparative International Almanac (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967) p. 155

aspirations for their own children. When asked "Would you be satisfied if your children do not receive a college education?", approximately the same percentage of teachers stressed the need for a degree: eighty-nine percent said they would not be satisfied. Curiously, only half felt that their fellow workers would be dissatisfied on the same account.

Slightly less than one-half of the teachers admitted to plans to further their education beyond the minimum necessary for job retention. This question did not attempt to determine how serious or extensive these plans might be. This may still seem like a small proportion until it is recalled that all but one teacher already have the B.A. degree. When circumstances were complicated, the number dropped to one in three who "would be willing to move to a less desirable area" in order to continue their education.

In summary, the priority given to formal education was evident in every question.

3. Role conceptions. A third area of investigation under the heading of academic-intellectual orientation related to the teachers' mode of conceptualizing her role as a teacher. Along with teaching the traditional "3 R's", what else do the teachers feel should be included in their teaching efforts? What environmental conditions do they feel are essential for the attainment of these goals? The former question was presented in check list form and one section of the results is summarized in Table V.

Note the total affirmation of the need to teach personal

hygiene, noteworthy since this is seldom a formal subject matter division in the classroom. Is it an indication that the puritan adage, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." still receives its full measure of support? It is in rather sharp contrast to the high number of negative checks with reference to teaching religious principles. This later category and others which received a high no vote frequently evoked the comment that "these are better taught at home by example."

TABLE V

TEACHERS APPROVING THE INCLUSION OF SELECTED SUBJECTS IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

SUBJECTS	Number of cases	Per cent of total
Personal hygiene	64	100.0
Art and music	63	98.5
Social adjustment skills	61	95.3
Racial equality	59	92.1
Job-related skills	42	65.0
Homemaking skills	34	53.1
Religious principles	28	43.7

Although the question was directed to the regular classroom situation, it has implications for the retarded. The areas relating to jobs, social skills and homemaking are crucial to their adult wellbeing, and these students are more likely to need the formal training that a school setting can provide. Vocational training, either for the home or the job was rejected by one-

third to one-half of the respondents.

In conclusion, with the exception of religious and vocational training, it can be said that the teachers interpret their roles rather broadly. They appeared cognizant of their power to mold the non-academic aspects of the child's personality.

The emphasis in this molding process seemed to be in the direction of the traditional social virtues, as indicated in Table VI. One question asked, "In these days what quality in children should teachers encourage most?" The old fashioned virtue of respect for authority received the largest vote by far.

TABLE VI

TEACHERS' CHOICE OF QUALITIES TO ENCOURAGE IN CHIDLREN

QUALITY	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Serious application to studies	6	8.0
Cooperativeness	9	12.2
Creative self-expression	10	13.6
Ambition and hard work	17	23.0
Self-disciplined respect for authority	32	43.2
TOTALS	74	100.0

Long standing problems, primarily 1) overloaded classrooms, 2) indifferent pupils, and 3) non-teaching responsibilities were cited as the principal hindrances to good teaching. In the following question the stress was put on the conditions facilitating good teaching. The teachers switched their emphasis from the environmental obstructions such as class size to the need for improvements in interpersonal relationships, specifically, the need for a cooperative principal and interested parents.

C. Self-Other Evaluations

The final subcategory in this section was devoted to the teachers' preferences and bases for evaluating both friends and students. This inclusion was based on the assumption that any marked preferences for various intellectual attributes would predispose the individuals in question to unfavorable evaluate the person with less than average ability in this area.

The questions used could not definitely establish a cause-effect relationship between the two variables, but they did point to the existence of some biases in the direction of intellectual potential. One group of three questions concerned with personal friendships resulted in a heavy concentration of such responses. Three out of four teachers preferred as a friend one "who is widely read" and who liked to discuss serious ideas. In even larger numbers, they admitted finding themselves more comfortable with people who could talk "on the same level" as they do. Whether or not this is a realistic estimation of their friendship formation process is not important. Even if they are attempting

to project an image of themselves for their own benefit or that of the interviewer, the emphasis on intellectual traits remains.

This heavy loading in the intellectual categories did not occur when the teachers were asked in question 31 to place various personal qualities in rank order according to their importance to a good teacher. The intellectual category, "a capable well-trained mind", made a strong showing with 25 per cent, twelve respondents, choosing it as number one in importance. But half of the teachers felt that "an understanding attitude ranked first in importance.

The final series of questions in this section was devoted to teachers' evaluations of students. Here the intellectual category was even less in evidence. The results instead tended to complement the earlier findings that teachers stress the significance of basic social virtues.

TABLE VII

THE ATTRIBUTE MOST NEEDED BY THE STUDENT FOR FUTURE SUCCESS

ATTRIBUTE	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Personal integrity	30	42.3
Ambition	28	39.4
Outgoing personality	10	14.1
Intellectual potential	3	4.2
TOTALS	71	100.0

TABLE VIII

THE ATTRIBUTE TEACHERS MOST ENJOY FOSTERING IN THEIR STUDENTS

ATTRIBUTE	Number of responses	Per cent of total
Getting along with others	29	44.6
Willingness to compete	15	23.1
Neatness and courteousness	8	12.3
Diligent work on abstract assignments	7	10.7

A brief digression from the figures for the purpose of an interpretive analysis of these latest findings revealed some interesting inconsistencies in the responses. On the one hand the teachers conceptions reflected the old "Protestant Ethic" of "pursuit of individual salvation through hard work, thrift and competetive struggle." Other responses reflected the newer "Social Ethic" social acceptability and belongingness as expressed in the statements "getting along with others" and "outgoing personality,"[46] There are obvious sources of strain in trying to integrate both sets of behavior patterns within one individual. In neither case did the teachers stress the significance of intellectual prowess. All of the findings thus far presented give support to Gross' contention that there is considerable variability in teachers' values.

[46] William H. Whyte, Organization Man, pp. 7, 14

One last question included in this section was a direct probe of teachers' preferences as affected by considerations of intellectual potential. Table IX summarizes the teachers' likes and dislikes on the subject of special teaching assignments.

TABLE IX

PREFERENCES FOR SPECIAL TEACHING ASSIGNMENTS IN PERCENTAGES

TYPE OF STUDENT	Most liked	Least liked
Accelerated	62.5	4.8
Visual/Speech handicap	3.0	14.5
Physical handicap	4.8	14.5
Remedial	20.3	8.1
Educable mentally retarded	9.4	58.1

Table IX served as an excellent transition from the section devoted to value investigation to direct attention to attitudes toward the retarded. It showed a strong preference for students with intellectual potential and an almost equally strong dislike for those without it. The percentage in the remedial category was unexpected, but explainable with a little intuitive analysis. The author originally anticipated that the remedial and retarded categories would differ only in degree of disfavor, since both involve students with academic deficiencies. Instead, the two categories often held opposing positions. For instance, 17 per cent of those who least liked the retardates, chose the remedial

group as their favorite. The explanation probably lies in the fact that the word remedial carries a connotation of unused student potential, and therefore presents an excellent challenge to the teacher to make this potential a functioning reality. The prospects for improvement, for progress, are good. The term retarded, on the contrary, tends to connote permanent subnormality with little opportunity for the teacher to see intellectual growth.

III. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RETARDED

Cognitive Component

The cognitive component of an attitude refers to the teachers' conceptions of the facts about retardation, and its frequency of occurence, including their own contacts with the problem. Since it is impossible to cover every phase of a subject with equal thoroughness, it was decided to restrict this section to three general questions.

Only three teachers reported having never taught a child they suspected might be retarded; all were first and second year teachers. In response to an indirectly worded question about knowledgeability in the area of retardation, 75 per cent said their colleagues were "probably less well informed than they should be." This was a central response category chosen over two less favorable evaluations. By way of contrast, the five special education teachers all chose the most negative evaluations: they felt their colleagues had "many misconceptions" and were "very inadequately informed."

The final question in this section asked for the teachers' estimation of the retardates ability level. In the first chapter of this thesis professional opinion was cited to the effect that the overwhelming majority of educable retardates could master a simplified school curriculum and could be trained for self-supporting semi-skilled work. Forty per cent (25) of the teachers also chose one or the other of these alternatives from a graded series. The remaining majority of thirty-seven teachers indicated a lower estimation of the retardates capacity to be self-sustaining. The ability to acquire basic social and self-help skills was chosen by twenty-four teachers. Thirteen felt they would do best in a sheltered workshop atmosphere.

The totals from this question reveal a gap between fact and belief that may be either a manifestation of true ignorance or attitudinal distortion. This section lacked the length and depth to go beyond this preliminary observation to ascertain the reasons for the teachers' beliefs.

Affective Component

The emotional factor is perhaps the most difficult element in the attitudinal cluster to uncover in a paper and pencil test. Yet variations in the quality and intensity of emotional reactions are central to a working understanding of an attitude.

The most fundamental dimension to be defined is the positive-negative continuum. The obvious approach is simply to ask the interviewee how he feels or would feel about a particular group. In this case, the question asked, "How would you personally

feel about teaching the retarded?" Sixteen said they would "probably enjoy it" and the remaining forty-eight responded with varying degrees of negative answers. These results look quite different standing alone than when compared with the figures in the following table. Table X is based on an indirectly worded question asking the respondents to estimate their colleagues reaction to teaching the retarded.

TABLE X

TEACHERS' ESTIMATION OF COLLEAGUES REACTION TO TEACHING THE RETARDED

REACTION	Regular teachers	Special Ed teachers
Would refuse to consider it	6	1
Would generally dislike the idea	18	3
Wouldn't be especially interested	26	2
Would be mildly interested	14	0
Would enjoy it	0	0
TOTALS	64	6

The figures in Table X definitely express a more negative reaction to involvement with this group of exceptional children. The projective principle on which most indirectly worded questions are justified would accept the more negative interpretation expressed in the teachers' estimation of their colleagues reaction as a more reliable index of their own feelings. The reasoning involved is that this technique eliminated the

contaminating influence of a social desirability response set (which was responsible for the 25 per cent positive reaction in question 43). A simpler explanation would be that the teachers simply miscalculated their coleagues reactions on a seldom discussed subject. The former projective explanation provided stronger support for the hypotheses of this project. When this question was examined in relationship to other questions, the more negative interpretation seemed to merit tentative acceptance.

Again the extra comments proved this would not be a clear-cut decision. One special education teacher explained the negative reaction of her colleagues as a product of fear. "Most are afraid of my student. Don't want much to do with them." One regular teacher candidly expressed a sense of fear in quite another sense: She would not want to teach the retarded, "but it might prove enjoyable--it's a scary idea at first--you never quite feel qualified to help them as well as you possibly can."

Having established the position of at least the majority of teachers on the negative end of the continuum, it then seemed necessary to specify some qualitative aspects of their attitudes. A negative attitude can be active or passive, intense or superficial in its manifestation; it may involve hostility and rejection or merely disinterest. The last quote is an excellent example of the myriad elements entering into the makeup of an attitude. It suggested a passive non-involvement based on uncertainty rather than rejection or disinterest.

To help clarify this issue another question asked the teachers to specify the major difficulty they would face if asked to work with these pupils. The largest single group of responses, twenty-three, predicted frustration with their "slow progress in learning." The remaining responses were rather equally divided among three areas; maintaining order, communication, and the lack of pupil interest. Of course, all of these problems are universally present in the regular classroom, and are frequently cites as sources of major frustration, but also of challenge. Their mention in this context suggested to the author that the teachers feel a sense of social distance, that is, a series of interpersonal barriers which they feel cannot be overcome.

The existence of positive feeling is usually apparent in some overt behavior pattern. To discover its existence with regard to the retarded, two indices were chosen: actual involvement with the retarded in any professional capacity, and any efforts to increase understanding or knowledge of the phenomenon of retard= ation through any of the usual formal and informal channels of education.

In connection with the first criterion, educational efforts, the teachers were given a check list of activities ranging from attending a workshop to reading an informative book; items were to be checked only if performed after college graduation. Of course, all five activities were checked by the special education teachers. The average number of checks by the others was one, although some teachers with ten or more years of experience had checked three or

four. Since almost every teacher had taught children they felt were retarded, this suggests a modest, if not minimal, level of interest. This conclusion complements the earlier finding that a maximum of 25 per cent registered a positive attitude to working in this area.

The choices made by the teachers revealed an awareness of the problem created by the retardates intellectual impairment, but this was not their only concern. One-fourth of the teachers felt that the retardate in a regular classroom would be "disliked as too slow and dumb." But twice the number felt the biggest problem would be the added demands on the teachers' time. In other words, the negative reaction to working with them may be, in part, a passive, practical disinterest resulting from a preference for the quicker students who already occupy the bulk of their time and ability.

Conative Component

The conative component of an attitude has already been defined as the action element. In his case it referred to the teachers' perception of the retardates' ability to act out a meaningful role in the community, and the responsibilities of the community to the retardates.

1. The Role of the Community. Workers committed to the area of retardation have accused the general public of almost total disregard for the needs of these children, a willingness only to provide institutional facilities in "remote places." This

generalization was not supported by the data gathered here. The teachers did overwhelmingly agree that state facilities should be supported and expanded. But in another question, 60 per cent of them added that special facilities should be set up within the local community. Considering the actual scarcity of such facilities and the limited publicity in favor of them, this is a high figure.

A similar question asked "what will make the most significant contribution to their adult well being?" The teachers acknowledged the need for community concern, on-the-job training and the child's acceptance of his own limitations. All of these answers take on the proverbial "Let George do it" look when compared with earlier answers reflecting non-involvement and disinterest. This interpretation is strengthened by the 100 per cent rejection of the suggestion that retarded children be taught in the regular classroom. Many specialists in the area are seriously offering this as a solution to some of the most serious problems faced by the retardate. A few teachers elaborated on their rejection of the idea of integration: "It would mean preparing at least a half-dozen lesson plans dail." Ideally, it can be noted, even in the regular classroom the lesson plan is supposed to be adjusted to the needs of the individual rather than vice versa.

2. The Retardates Role Playing Ability. In the introductory question in this section fifty of the sixty-four respondents accepted the statement that a special education class would prepare the children "for fuller adult participation in the community." To keep this investigation from remaining on the level of easy generalizations and rationalizations, a specifying question was

asked. What do teachers really mean by "fuller participation?"

To answer this question, a Likert type scale was developed which required the teachers to check the proportion of retardates they felt could adequately perform basic social roles. The results of that question were tabulated on the basis of the percentage of teachers who chose each category for a particular role. For example, in analyzing the first row of figrues, there were no teachers who felt that "almost all" retardates would make good employees, while 45 per cent felt that at least "some" retardates could fill this role successfully.

TABLE XI

ESTIMATES OF RETARDATES' ROLE PLAYING ABILITY, IN PERCENTAGES

ROLE	Almost All	Most	Some	Only a Few	Don't Know
Employee	0.0	18.3	45.0	16.7	20.0
Neighbor	8.3	31.7	41.7	5.0	13.3
Friend	6.2	27.8	37.8	9.5	19.5
Citizen	8.3	29.2	51.7	3.3	8.3
Parent	4.8	4.8	29.0	40.3	19.4
Husband/wife	1.7	11.7	31.6	23.3	31.6

The most noticeable pattern resulting from this question was the heavy loading of responses in the "some" category, an average of 40 per cent of the total responses. Since the scale had no definite central value, this was defined a moderately negative polarity. The responses were internally consistent: the complex,

demanding roles such as parent or spouse were rated as less suitable for the retardates. In addition, these latter two categories elicited the largest number of strong written reactions. A number of respondents even changed the category heading to "very few" or "none."

The comments about these two roles were pointed, though often expressing totally divergent views of the facts, as seen in the following quotes:

> Why take a chance on enlarging this populace? Also, it is difficult for them to cope with the "normal" children which they have a chance of having.

> It doesn't have anything to do with heredity, does it? Retardates tend to have "average children."

Because there were only five special education values on which to base percentages, the results did not lend themselves to meaningful tabular comparisons with the sixty-four regular responses. Nevertheless, some trends stand out sufficiently to merit discussion. The "most" category included 55 per cent of the special education responses and the "only a few" category was never used. Those who work with the retardates have a significantly more positive estimation of their ability.

A similar question was devised under the general rubric of "social worth" qualities. It included a potpourri of general statements and specific abilities for the teachers' ratings. The overall results were quite similar to those reported in Table XI.

The "don't know" category averaged 20 per cent of the responses in both questions. The inclusion of this alternative was

necessary, although the results were thus rendered more ambiguous. This category may have been used as an "out" by those who did not wish to commit themselves by revealing a negative attitude. It may have been a reflection of the previously noted lack of interest in the area of retardation and thus, the consequent lack of adequate knowledge on which to base a specific answer.

A final possibility was made apparent by a number of spontaneous comments: it involved a principled refusal to generalize about so large a group. This line of reasoning was clearly illustrated in the following quote: "I'm not qualified to respond. It would take a research expert or a fool to respond. Response from an untrained person would be guesses only."

TABLE XII

ESTIMATES OF "SOCIAL WORTH" ATTRIBUTES OF THE RETARDED

ATTRIBUTE	Almost All	Most	Some	Only a Few	Don't Know
Look different	3.3	18.3	36.7	26.7	15.0
Can be self supporting	1.7	16.7	53.3	10.0	18.3
Should be in institutions	0.0	1.7	28.3	40.0	28.3
Know they are different	16.6	47.3	15.0	11.7	13.3
Can lead "normal" lives	3.3	23.3	46.7	11.7	11.7
Can hold a regular job	3.3	16.7	53.3	11.7	11.7
Can learn to drive a car	1.7	25.0	41.7	11.7	20.0
Can learn to read and write	0.0	26.7	56.7	6.7	11.7
Should have children	0.0	1.7	15.0	41.7	41.7
Are able to participate in regular teenage activities	6.7	1.7	35.0	23.3	25.0
Can learn to vote	3.3	18.3	58.3	8.3	11.7

Another teacher refused to answer on these grounds, but the tone of her explanation indirectly gave a negative response by raising the ability cut-off point to a level which technically excluded all of the educable retarded: "I believe this question is too broad to answer. The 80's IQ or a bit above, it has seemed to me lead about average lives...."

A variety of cross tabulations was attempted using various sub-groups from the sample in order to discover if any genuine differences in response tendency were obscured by the overall

totals. None of the socioeconomic data related consistently to the responses. This confirmed the allegation made previously that the description of teachers as carriers of middle class culture may be true but it does not go very far in explaining the observed variations in attitudes.

One set of figures did have a moderate predictive ability for the direction of attitudes. Table XIII is significant because it reveals differences in attitude that were not necessarily related to actual experience, factual knowledge possessed or to class status, but rather to subjective preferences which in turn were based on expressed value orientations.

In Table XIII the six specific roles presented in Table XI were combined and labeled Role Playing Ability. The mean percentage of teachers choosing each rating was then found. Teachers who replied that they would "most like" and "least like" a special education teaching assignment were compared with the regular and special teachers on their estimates of the childrens' overall ability. It can be quickly seen that a positive correlation exists between the degree of interest in involvement with the retarded and the perception of the childrens' ability to function as "normal" citizens. Keep in mind the disparity in sample sizes.

TABLE XIII

MEAN RATING OF RETARDATES' ROLE PLAYING ABILITY IN PERCENTAGES

SUBGROUP	Almost All	Most	Some	Only a Few	Don't Know	Total No. of cases
Regular	5.0	21.1	39.0	16.6	18.8	64
Least Like	1.0	18.5	39.5	18.0	23.3	36
Most Like	11.1	22.2	22.2	22.2	22.2	5
Special	13.7	55.2	24.1	.0	6.9	5

Correlations do not provide proof of cause-effect relationships. But logic and comparison with other data did suggest that evaluations of the retardates ability are predetermined by attitudes about involvement with them. As suggested, this in turn was based on a central value choice. Without exception, every teacher who chose "intellectual challenge" as the major motivation behind the choice of a teaching career said she would also "least like" to teach the mentally handicapped. This finding involved fourteen teachers and was thus a limited pattern; not a generalization applicable to the whole group. But its significance is increased by the fact that none of the special education or the "most like" group chose intellectual challenge as their main motivation. In fact, they most frequently chose "like being with children."

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE CASE HISTORIES

An empirical investigation of this nature can easily become bogged down with a surfeit of figures, valid in themselves but

which do not do justice to the complex, well integrated cluster of values and attitudes found in the individual respondent. To compensate for the past fragmentation, this brief section incorporated four short case histories combining a number of objective facts about the interviewee with a sampling of spontaneous comments.

Case One: female, 22, married, no children, student-husband, third grade teacher for one year. She chose teaching for the intellectual challenge and would not want to teach the retarded. The biggest problem she felt these children would face in life is "getting lost in the crowd and perhaps never learning, which is a terrible feeling to have." She added, "There is always the self question--am I getting the ideas across to them." She felt that most could learn to lead reasonably normal lives, and learn to read and write "within bounds."

Case Two: female, 32, divorced, 3 years of teaching the second grade. She liked being with children, and is most pleased to see in the student the "development of an awareness of who he is-and liking himself." She would feel uncomfortable about teaching retardates because "Special ed teachers are special people." A major problem she visualized in working with them would be their poor attitudes resulting from years of failure. Consequently, "...they begin to dislike themselves and expect to fail." She was unequivocal about the responsibility of the community to care for the mentally handicapped.

> Absolutely! State programs must be expanded. We can't sweep these youngsters into a corner classroom and expect the teacher to take it from there. Society owes these children a fair shake, and so far at least in Montana, they're barely in the game.

Case Three: female, 46, married, one child, husband works as a pipefitter, 1 year of teaching the fourth grade. She was challenged to enter teaching by the need for good teachers ghough she admitted to a very limited knowledge of retardates and wouldn't care to teach them. "Unsporting as it may seem, I believe the regular classroom should be restricted to those capable of learning. These children definitely do not belong in the regular classroom." Her future contentment will depend, in part, on the opportunity to spread and possess knowledge, and for this reason one of the main satisfactions gained from her teaching is helping young children develop their mental abilities.

Case Four: female, 40, married, two children and a step-daughter, serviceman husband, second grade teacher for 4 years. She, too, is teaching for the intellectual challenge and suspects there are many retarded children not in special education rooms because their IQ is too high to make them eligible. "Many are not capable of knowing their limitations--though this depends on the degree of mental and physical handicap." She wouldn't be interested in teaching them: "have one step-daughter at home--one is enough."

No attempt was made to present all the possible variations in attitude and background, and yet two personality types vaguely began to emerge from these case histories. Viewed in the light

of the previous findings, they can be loosely termed ideal types that may potentially have predictive or explanatory value.

The first type, illustrated by Case Three, involved an intellectual, ideational orientation. These adjectives applied not only to personal motivations and satisfactions, but to the mode of viewing the child's needs and progress. The teachers included in this category frequently and spontaneously mentioned the capacity to learn, the need to know, though not the child's ability *per se*. There was a simultaneous concern for what may be called the egocentric aspects of the teaching situation such as the demands on the teachers' time.

The second type, as here conceived, was illustrated by Case Two. It involved, primarily, a child-centered orientation. These respondents focused on their liking for children as a major source of teaching satisfaction. Additional qualities of this type can be most accurately characterized as other centered, in contrast to the ego-centered attribute mentioned in the first type. This involved a concern for the child's self-development and his feelings, not just his mental development. The teachers in this group stressed the need for an understanding attitude, not a well-trained mind.

These observations are abstractions from the data, not empirically validated, exhaustive categories. It is not imagined that every teacher can be neatly placed into either category, nor that this alone explained the behavior in question. It did seem to be a way to relate one trait or response tendency to another.

For convenience sake, about one-fourth of this sample could be rather easily placed in the intellectual orientation type, and perhaps another third in the child-oriented group.

V. SUPPLEMENTARY FINDINGS

Attitudes and behavior are inextricably united, although in what way is not always well understood. Thus, it was imperative that this investigation at least attempt to relate paper-pencil findings to the verbal and behavioral elements of attitudes toward the retarded. To do this required observation of the teacher in the classroom setting and informal interviews with some of the teachers.

Classroom Observations

The atmosphere of each classroom was dominated by the unique personality and methods of the teacher as she interacted with the individual pupil and the corporate unit. So,each classroom could be qualitatively described in terms of a central theme or two, which were assumed to be operative manifestations of basic attitudes. The categories used in the descriptions were essentially those of Lewis, Newall and Withall, ignoring their injunction for precise quantitative measurement of frequency of occurrence.

1. Pre-primary room. In this room the middle-aged teacher with eleven years of experience was engaged in a game-like session of alphabet recognition. The activity was notable for an apparently unplanned fluctuation between student and teacher control, with the students seldom responding to teacher directives as a group. The teacher met this situation by approaching each

student individually for a quiet, face-to-face repetition of the original instructions and assistance in organizing the work materials. Spontaneous, self-directed learning experiences, similar to but not identical to the prepared lesson plan were firmly discouraged by the teacher's words and actions. Student questions were incessant, but responses were primarily perfunctory or non-existent.

2. Primary-intermediate room. This room was taught by a young female teacher in her second year of teaching. Control and direction were decisively handled by the teacher with firm negative verbal and facial reactions to pupil interruptions (spontaneous comments or movements).

The bulk of the morning session was devoted to a competitive word game in which emotional "poor sport" reactions by the "losers" received the teacher's verbal ridicule. Recognition for right answers was prompt, but given in an affectively neutral tone of voice. Student comments and questions were not solicited or accepted. Children who fell behind were prodded and helped to catch up by being given the needed answers without explanation.

3. Junior-high room. This classroom, taught by a first year male teacher, was organized on a democratic and semi-structured basis. Starting time for class was adjusted to student wishes, within limits set by the teacher. Scheduled reading assignments were put aside to accommodate student questions, primarily about everyday non-academic matters. The free verbal exchanges were inhibited only when they infringed upon the

expressive efforts of another student. Direction and advice were solicited and received from both sides of the desk in the manner of a conversational dialogue. Most negative comments from the teacher were accompanied by explanations which focused on the social acceptability of the behavior in question. Most of this exchange centered around the four most articulate students and the others remeained primarily interested spectators.

Interesting as these brief sketches were to the observor, they were made more informative for the cause at hand by abstracting one further generalization common to the teaching practices of all three rooms. Although there were exceptions, each teacher seemed to instinctively adjust the academic work pace to the ability of the most capable or the quickest pupil and to focus a disproportionate share of time on these students. Those who fell behind did not materially impede this progress: they were either supplied with the needed information or allowed to fall behind and manage as best they could.

An attitudinal inference can be drawn from this observation. It can be cautiously asserted that this is evidence of a desire on the teacher's part for academic accomplishment and at least the appearance of progress. In many cases the important factor seemed to be keeping up the pace regardless of the amount of learning going on. There was no room for deviation whether this involved disruption of the class or merely pursuit of individual interests.

By concentrating their interaction and teaching efforts on the most capable students, the teachers may have been unconsciously

responding to pupil qualities which reflected intellectual potential and the ability to succeed. This observation must also be viewed in terms of the staggering difficulties involved in one teacher trying to meet the needs of even a small class of children. Responding to pupils with interests and abilities similar to their own may simply be one way to lighten and simplify a heavy work load. The tendency to concentrate on a portion of the class is understandable, but the possibility that this may lead to unintended discrimination against the less gifted must not be overlooked.

Interviews

Excerpts from two of the three interviews conducted were chosen for presentation. They represent two distinctive, though not entirely divergent sets of emphases and points of view. The teachers' words were not recorded verbatim, but the substance of the conversations was immediately recorded at the close of the interview. It is believed that the accounts given accurately reflect the ideas and expressions of the subjects.

Case One: Male teacher for special education, 28, 1 year of teaching at the junior high level.

Q. At the end of a school year like this, what bases do you use to evaluate your efforts? What did you hope to accomplish?

A. The biggest challenge is to help the whole child--to see some improvement in ability, and in self-concept especially. These kids have experienced failure and rejection of their efforts so often that they're desperately in need of a boost in self-confidence, some feeling of success.
Take her for example (nods to student reading in textbook before class time): 6 months ago she wouldn't

even look at me or open a book. She hasn't improved much scholastically, but she's trying now and enjoying it. I feel I've accomplished a lot.

Q. What do they need most from the school system and what can be expected from these children after the school years

A. Book learning isn't everything, especially for them. They need more outside, practical experience. Most of them have never had the chance to do many simple things we normally take for granted. Most of them have lived very restricted lives, at home and at school. But to improve the situation would take more administrative concern and financial support than we have now. The track meet we're planning to attend will be mostly financed out of my pocket. We can't even enlist parents to drive or come along. And this is their first opportunity to participate in anything like this. You can see how anxious they are.

Social competence and acceptance will be their biggest problems after they leave here. They'll need to be realistically aware of their limitations and weaknesses, and still find a place, be willing to try to do things. There's no reason why they can't find happiness, if given acceptance and a chance for a job.

Q. Where do we look for an understanding of the causes of mental retardation?

A. Environmental causes, first of all, for these kids, both physical and cultural. Lower economic depression is part of it. The parents are confused, uncertain, inactive. They have too many children and too little time and money to be able to help or understand.

We've been working hard to get them involved here and it's helped a lot. Once they realize, sometimes for the first time, that their children can improve, they become interested and cooperative. And it inevitably shows up in the student's work level and general behavior.

Q. How much can they improve? Can any of them ever work themselves out of the retarded label?

A. You're right, it is a label, and not a good one. Realistically though, now most of them aren't going to be able to do much beyond simple jobs, but they can do a good job at that.

Most of this could be prevented if caught earlier, and parents aid enlisted, and if their education were

more realistically suited to their needs and interests. By this age it's usually too late for reversal. But, like I said, if they can get a job to do and be accepted for what they can do, they'll fit it fine once they get out of school.

Case Two: Intermediate teacher, female, age 23, 2 years of teaching.

Q. At the end of a school year like this, how do you go about evaluating your teaching efforts?

A. I look for any sign of progress in learning. I have one little boy who finally mastered his first primer after working on it all year, without a feeling of failure or discouragement. He doesn't even realize we've been through it three times already, but now he's beginning to understand what it's all about and he can read most of the words without help. I didn't think he'd ever learn them.

Q. What do you find to be a big problem to be faced in working with these children?

A. Mostly the repetition, the lack of progress for so long. Sometimes it doesn't seem like they will ever learn, and they can forget everything from one day to the next. They can't do very much, and this time of year, they're harder to control and to hold their interest. I like working with them, but by the end of the year we're all tired. It's hard to just keep them occupied, no less have them learn anything.

Q. What's the most important thing the school can do for them, and what can be expected of them after they get out of school?

A. Mostly, the children need to learn the basics, to follow directions and try to do the work assigned to them.

They'll always have a problem keeping up. But here's a problem with parent's misunderstanding too and lack of cooperation with us. It would be easier for us if they would come in more often to see what we're trying to do and see what they could do to help.

Q. How much improvement can be expected of them? Can they ever work their way out of a special ed class?

A. No. If they could they probably wouldn't be here in the first place. Most of them aren't going to do much

better than they do right now. They just can't do the same amount or kind or work that the other children can and we have to accept that.

They have to be in a special class or they won't be able to make any progress at all. The regular program would leave them behind.

The results of these interviews complement some of the more general observations made about types of approaches to teaching, the child oriented and the academic orientation. They also accentuate the observation that teachers' opinions and attitudes on these questions are multi-faceted and multidimensional. There are many lines of reasoning and points of emphases converging on a single thought. It was impossible to classify the teachers as having simply a positive or negative attitude. Here too, as in the questionnaire, there was an unexpected stress on the role the parents can and should play within the educational system. The teachers did not want and did not see a sharp division of labor.

One more pertinent generalization can be made about the interviews. When the teachers talked about their students, the most frequently repeated phrase was: "They can't do...." This expression occurred considerably more often than the looked for phrase, "They can't learn." The latter statement implies the former since it is the less inclusive term. But the use of the word 'do' instead of 'learn' gave reason to suggest a reformulation of basic investigative concepts in favor of the broader terminology. This possibility will be explored in the last chapter, after the data have been more specifically evaluated in terms of the original hypotheses.

VI. DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR HYPOTHESES

There can be no one word answers to the question of empirical support for the hypotheses. The predictions were broadly stated, and the test of their validity is, in part, a matter of subjective judgement. Observable, but not unambiguous, trends were found in every subsection of the questionnaire. At times these trends did not seem entirely consistent with one another. This was not viewed as the result of response superficiality or teacher inconsistency. It was, rather, an indication of the frailty of any technique and, more importantly, the intricacy of an attitude in operation.

The most efficient way to handle this section is to restate each hypothesis and subhypothesis. This will be followed by a summary paragraph citing the germane supportive and non-supportive data. Finally, a few concluding remarks will attempt to place these findings in perspective.

Hypothesis I

The majority of teachers will exhibit choice behavior which reflects a preference for the academic-intellectual value choices.

The data summarized showed that the teachers were strongly committed to their academic profession, but not all placed a major emphasis on the intellectual or ideational aspects of the profess[illegible]. In connection with the section devoted to general values and life styles, it would be more accurate to say that a strong minority of about 25 per cent, reaching up to 50 per cent of a few questions, emphasized the intellectual challenges, satisfactions and standards.

The most prominent exception tothis minority response was on the question of the value of formal educational achievements. The respondents overwhelmingly affirmed this principle and acknowledged its practical importance in governing their own lives. The definite preference for the gifted students and the converse dislike for the retarded students was probably one expression of this basic value choice.

Results from the subsection devoted to role conceptions did not lend much support for the basic hypotheses. The teachers interpreted their roles broadly so that their duties and goals encompassed a wide variety of tasks, seemingly aimed at the development of the "whole personality", as the term is loosely used. In line with current educational debate, there was widespread desagreement over giving religious and voacational training, but the teachers were not preoccupied exclusively with the inculcation of basic academic subjects.

An interesting dichotomy developed in the section on self-other evaluations. The teachers again responded to student related questions in a manner suggesting concern for overall personality shaping rather than academic qualities. But when asked to evaluate friends and the bases for friendship formation, the academic-intellectual traits were again prominent.

In balance, the teachers interviewed gave the statements weighted in favor of the intellectual values a high desireability rating. In practice, they recognized and utilized these values in their daily activities, although not to the exclusion of other

values, praticularly in their relationships with students.

Hypothesis II

The majority of teachers will express predominantly negative attitudes toward the educable mentally retarded students.

Subhypothesis A. This negative evaluation will be manifested by an expressed dislike for working with the retardates, and an unfavorable assessment of their ability to function in basic social roles.

Every question, whether directly or indirectly worded, which dealt with the factor of involvement with retarded provided strong support for this hypothesis. A large majority of the teachers were not interested in and would not like to work with retardates; nor were they active in acquainting themselves with the nature of retardation. On most of these questions, a minority ranging from 10 to 25 per cent expressed positive attitudes on these same issues.

The data reflected a moderate degree of support for the second half of the above hypothesis, estimates of the retardates ability to participate fully in the life of the community at large. Three out of four teachers indicated that a special education class would enable these children to enjoy just such a full life. At the same time, one out of every two teachers indicated that only some or a few of these children could actually carry out the specific roles that would be required for such a position. The attachment of a negative interpretation to these

results was further substantiated by the considerably more favorable reactions of the special education teachers.

Nevertheless, it can not be stated that this hypothesis was unequivocally confirmed. With the exception of two categories (parents and spouses) every role category received responses on both ends of the continuum, plus a liberal sprinkling of "don't know" responses.

Subhypothesis B. The teacher who manifests a high degree of positive orientation to the academic-intellectual indices will also have the most negative attitudes toward the retardates, and will base their attitudes on the students' lack of intellectual ability.

This statement must be rejected as it is now written. The data gathered did not show any evidence of either a positive or negative correlation between attitudes, and value orientations for the group as a whole. As indicated in the previous discussions, there was a correlation between intellectual notivation for choosing a teaching career, and the dislike for teaching the special education group. This correlation held for about 20 per cent of the group, but it did not extend to negative evaluations in the role playing section of the investigation. Such a consistency in response patterns would be required to warrant the acceptance of the prediction.

The secondary proposition that negative attitudes would be based on intellectual deficiencies was not upheld. In fact, the questions designed to investigate this possibility produced some of the greatest response variability of any section.

In conclusion, the findings provided spotty support for the basic hypotheses, sufficient to justify the continued pursuit of the ideas involved, but demanding conceptual reformulations and many technical improvements. The concluding chapter of the thesis will turn attention to these matters.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Whenever a research project yields unexpected findings, or fails to support any part of an original prediction, there is both a need and an urge to ask why. Assuming the data have been adequately re-examined without finding the key, it can be concluded that there must be additional factors which have contributed to attitude and action, or which have contamined the study. The fault may lie in the weaknesses of the research design or the conceptual framework. A retrospective analysis of these possibilities will be conducted in the following paragraphs.

Technical Considerations

The methodological weaknesses will be given brief attention first. Major limitations and problems of the technique were reviewed in the chapter on method and need no repetition. The material included in a questionnaire is ultimately left to the logical discretion and interest of the investigatory. It appeared to the author that a number of omissions may have contributed to the inconclusiveness of some of the results.

For example, the sharp curtailment of the fact finding section was probably a mistake. Sound knowledge about retardation was not as widespread as anticipated. Therefore, there was a need to know more specifically; 1) what the teachers knew or believed about this subject, and 2) the sources for their beliefs,

how they formed their ideas and evaluations, particularly if this involved any interpersonal experiences.

A second omission occurred in the final role playing section. This segment did ascertain the proportion of children considered able to play specific roles. But it did not probe the teachers' reasons for their choices--what specific characteristics made the retardates unsuitable as drivers, parents, ect. It was prematurely assumed that intellectual considerations would play a dominant role in these evaluations, but such estimates did not appear to play a determining role for the majority of teachers. Had an opportunity been given to the teachers to explain their answers, these responses could have been carefully categorized, and might have provided a sounder basis for interpreting the nature of their attitudes.

Conceptual Considerations

The pre-eminent role of the intellectual concerns predicted in the hypotheses did not materialize for the group of subjects as a whole. And yet, the questionnaire did yield a mass of facts, figures and insights. Since all questions elicit meaningful data of some sort, the problem is to make sure a valid and justifiable interpretation is attached to them.

The original theoretic discussions began with the observations by noted sociologists that a major value complex in our society could be succinctly labeled the "achievement syndrome"--the race to achieve success and security through material possessions and job advancement. But for various reasons the focus was narrowed to the stress on intellectual achievement

and status for those in the teaching profession.

A number of suggestive findings from the investigation indicated that the broader context may be the more fruitful of the two. The first indication was the frequent mention of the retardates inability to do, rather than inability to learn, and the teachers' concomitant dissatisfaction with a student's inability to keep up, to do as much as their peers.

Second, the role playing section, with the exceptionof "can learn to read and write" did not emphasize traditional scholastic or mentally demanding skills. It would be more accurate to label them performance skills involving social awareness and social responsibility. The findings did indicate that the retardates were effectively exempted from normal social responsibilities and relegated to a non-role by the teachers. But the question of social responsibility seemed to have greater significance than had been suspected. There were numerous instances throughout the questionnaire that showed the teachers' keen concern for the development of various social qualities, such as the ability to get along.

A quick search through the literature revealed that many authors while stressing the intellectual issue, recognized this aspect of the problem. Dexter expressed this point with felicity.

> The mental defective tends to constitute a social problem in society because he has failed (or is supposed to be incapable of learning) the "right meaning" attached to events, symbols, or things in that society...including the events of desiring food, sexual experience, elimination and "power,"[47]

In retrospect, this appeared to have been a curcial issue (for instance, in explaining the strong negative reactions to retardates as parents and spouses), and one that was largely neglected in this study. If the retarded are viewed as incapable of acting responsibly, it is easy to understand why the teachers would accept a measure of responsibility for the care of retardates, essentially a quasi-segregation through special treatment, but are adamant in their rejection of integration and personal involvement. All of these thoughts give support to the assertion that attitudes are such that the mentally handicapped are effectively restricted to a "non-role" in our society, a sort of marginal man position with few prospects for assimilation through individual effort.

Suggestions for Further Research

The preceding attempt to suggest needed refinements in the conceptual foundations for the study of mental retardation led, naturally, to a discussion of further research possibilities. The following suggestions for sociological research are submitted for consideration.

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[47] Dexter, "Towards A Social Theory of Mental Deficienty", op. cit., p. 921

1. The questionnaire technique yielded apparently valid material of sufficient quantity to make a replication unnecessary, especially considering the teachers' willingness to express their feelings even under the uncongenial circumstances of a written form. The most pertinent suggestion would be to design a depth personal interview study which would compensate for the weaknesses of the present study and follow up some of its leads. Such an approach could delve more deeply into the emotional aspects of the problem--the extent to which uncertainty, suspicion, uneasiness and even fear lie beneath the surface of the apparent hesitancy about interaction.

The results of any such investigation would be infinitely more useful if developed in a comparative context. If the responses of teachers were compared and contrasted with a random sample of adults or other special groups, the significance of any observed divergences could be more soundly interpreted. It might be particularly interesting to separate out all the professionals involved in service to the retarded population to determine what, if any, subcultural experiences or socio-psychological traits predisposed them to such work.

2. This investigation chose to stress the impact of teachers' attitudes and values, realizing full well that they are generally second in importance to the attitudes and values of parents and family. Given the added emotional intensity and frequency of the interaction, the family's reactions, verbal and behavioral, must be a potent causative factor in the child's

personality make-up, eventually influencing the teacher's evaluations.

3. A basic assumption of this research stated that a knowledge of the objective characteristics of the handicapped child would not necessarily account for his classification and subsequent treatment, since this definition does not always encompass the cultural definitions of the situation. Still, there is a need to develop a sound substantiated body of data about the retardate himself.

It must be acknowledged that a person's self-concept develops in a continuous dialogue with other members of the society. Thus, we can indirectly study the operation of culturally defined attitudes and values by increasing our knowledge of the retardate's self-concept, especially the dynamics of negative self-images and self-doubts.

The sociological literature is replete with self-concept studies; a skillful researcher could draw from these to develop a technique suitable for the special problems likely to be encountered in studying a group with restricted verbal and abstractive abilities.

4. Many other studies focusing on the retardates, per se would be valuable. We need to measure objectively the extent of their ability; their social perceptiveness, awareness of the proper and subtle meanings of social events and symbols, and the quality of their interactions with others. Only then are we in a position to interpret the meaning or validity of any adult's attitude toward them.

This approach calls for systematic life studies contrasting relatively successful and unsuccessful adult retardates in the areas of social and economic competence. This could determine to what extent their limitations really are handicaps once they have passed the compulsory education period. In this way it would also have potential significance for educational theory and practice.

5. A wide-open field of study exists in the urban areas where federal and private efforts are attacking the socio-economic causes of retardation. How much improvement can be made, under what conditions, with what interplay of factors? Are there critical periods beyond which these measures are of little avail? Are the children in these areas defined as retarded by the indigenous population or only by outside specialists?

6. Large scale efforts are being made through the mass media to educate and influence public opinion more favorably about the retarded. Many of these efforts are headlined by well known political and entertainment figures. Will sustained efforts of this sort have a measureable effect on the quality of attitudes held by the general public?

7. Finally, we need a more systematic review of institutional procedures, educational and custodial, to determine the nature of their general definition of retardation and how it operates in bringing a specific individual under the institutions

jurisdiction. This would include a study of the complaint and referral processes, and the socio-economic characteristics of those admitted.

Concluding Comments

Although social research strives for objective reporting and analysis of the facts, it is inevitable and desirable that personal impressions and subjective conclusions will develop simultaneously. These should be made explicit. Thus the final paragraphs of this thesis will be devoted to a summing up of personal impressions.

As noted, in the opening paragraphs of the thesis, the twentieth century has seen a veritable revolution in the treatment of mental illness. The initial impetus for this movement came from the recognition by single individuals that the mentally ill were, after all, still human beings, more normal than not. That they were also subject to a condition, not a disease, a condition responsive to treatment and reversal. Hopefully, the burgeoning interest in the field of mental retardation is one sign of a similar breakthrough. The data gathered here suggested that the most virulent stereotypes and the grossest forms of neglect have been discarded by this group.

To increase the momentum of this change requires many things; foremost among them is a re-evaluation of the nature and purposes of education and the practical consequences of any theoretical viewpoint.

Durkheim turned his attention to this question in a series of essays. He concluded that the end of education is to constitute a dual being in each of us. There must be an individual being made up of all the unique mental states which collectively determine a personality. The social being expresses, through the medium of personality, each of the groups of which we are a part.[48] He implied, but did not explicitly state, that this must be an internal construction, not one imposed from without. Thus, the role of the educational system is to provide a relatively unencumbered environment in which the child is free to pursue the development of this dual being without a surfeit of externally imposed directives.

Too often, it would seem, the retarded child's individual being has been ignored, and he has been denied the opportunity to develop or express his social being. This can only happen when we forget that the mind and the social personality are not static attributes but are on-going processes being continuously built up in the course of social interaction. Because of this misconception there has been far too much (though admittedly decreasing) unsophisticated utilization of IQ and other test scores to determine, in advance of the act, the invariant limitations of an individual's ability. This is a lopsided

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[48] Emile Durkheim, Education and Society, S.D. Fox, trans., (Glencoe, Illinois: Glencoe Free Press, 1956) pp. 71-72

yardstick which does not measure potential, nor other subtle and significant components of a personality.

No indictment of the teacher is intended by this exposition, only a reminder of the sense of challenge and positive effort that must pervade the attitudes of anyone involved in the teaching profession. This challenge to the teacher has been forcefully and succinctly articulated by Barzun.

> It (education) is the lifelong discipline of the individual by himslef, encouraged by a reasonable opportunity to lead a good life.
>
> We bottle up our ignorance and label it Heredity and Environment and there we stop. We should add something about will and temperament and then forget about limitations, in order to concentrate on what can be done.[49]

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[49] Jaques Barzun, The Teacher in America, p. 14

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS: The majority of questions ask only for a check next to the appropriate phrase. Please give only one answer per question, unless otherwise directed. If you find a question vague or difficult, please answer it anyway and feel free to make any additional comments you like.

1. How many years have you taught?

   _____

2. What grade are you teaching now?

   _____

3. Please check the grade level you have taught most often.

   _____kindergarten
   _____1-3
   _____4-6
   _____7-9
   _____10-12
   _____other (please specify

4. Which of the following would you most like and least like to teach?

most like	least like	
_____	_____	kindergarten
_____	_____	1-3
_____	_____	4-6
_____	_____	7-9
_____	_____	10-12

5. Which of the following subject matter areas do you most and least enjoy teaching?

most like	least like	
_____	_____	arithmetic-science
_____	_____	fine arts
_____	_____	social studies
_____	_____	language arts
_____	_____	physical education

6. Have you ever taught any of the following kinds of classes? If yes, for how long?

   _____ accelerated
   _____ visual or speech handicap
   _____ physically handicapped
   _____ remedial
   _____ educable mentally retarded

7. If you had the opportunity, and were adequately trained, which type of special class do you think you would most and least enjoy teaching?

Most like	least like	
_____	_____	accelerated
_____	_____	visual or speech handicap
_____	_____	physically handicapped
_____	_____	remedial
_____	_____	educable mentally retarded

8. What is the major reason you chose a teaching career?

_____ supplemental income
_____ economic necessity
_____ like being with children
_____ intellectual challenge
_____ other (please specify)

9. How much do you enjoy teaching?

_____ I like it very much
_____ I like it most of the time
_____ I sometimes like it
_____ I generally dislike it

10. What is one of the main satisfactions you gain from your job?

_____ The good income
_____ Helping children develop their mental abilities
_____ the opportunity to provide guidance to young people
_____ The freedom to work independently
_____ The chance to develop friendships with co-workers

11. In the eyes of the community do you think some grade levels tend to be more respected, to carry more prestige?

_____ Yes
_____ No

12. If yes, how do you think they would rank them from highest to lowest? (give the highest ranking level the value of 1, and the lowest a value of 5).

_____ kindergarten
_____ 1-3
_____ 4-6
_____ 7-9
_____ 10-12

13. Are you planning to stay in the teaching profession for as long as you work?

_____ Yes

_____ No

14. What would you most like to do during the summer vacation?

_____ travel

_____ teach summer sessions

_____ relax and enjoy my home

_____ take more university courses

_____ work at other employment

15. If you inherited so much money you didn't have to work, would you still want to teach?

_____ Yes

_____ No

16. Is your work as satisfying to you as the time you spend at home?

_____ Yes

_____ No

17. From which activity in life do you derive the most frequent personal satisfaction?

_____ framily relationships

_____ teaching career

_____ leisure time activities

_____ religious activities

_____ Other (Please specify)

18. In order to be content, which of the following would contribute the most?

_____ reaching my financial goals

_____ marrying

_____ enjoying and creating beauty

_____ possessing and spreading knowledge

_____ having the love and admiration of friends

_____ living up to my spiritual ideals

19. Is the struggle many parents have to give their children a college education "worth the price?"

_____ Yes

_____ No

20. Do you have any plans to further your education beyond that necessary to maintain your present position?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ Not right now

21. Would you be willing to move to a less desirable area temporarily in order to further your education?

_____ Yes
_____ No

22. If getting ahead meant you might have to send your children to another school, not quite so good, would you be willing?

_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Does not apply

23. What do you think are the chances of finding a worthwhile and satisfying job without a college education?

_____ excellent
_____ good
_____ fair
_____ poor

24. Do you think most of your fellow teachers would be very upset if one of their sons decided to take a factory job instead of getting a college education?

_____ Yes
_____ No

25. On weekends would you rather

_____ engage in sports
_____ read
_____ visit with friends
_____ go to the movies
_____ relax at home

26. Would you be satisfied if your children do not recieve a college education?

_____ Yes
_____ No
_____ Does not apply

27. In these days what qualities in children should teachers encourage most?

_____ cooperativeness
_____ self-discipline and respect for authority
_____ creative self-expression
_____ serious application to studies
_____ ambition and hard work

28. What do you find to be the greatest hinderance to good teaching?

_____ indifferent,unresponsive pupils
_____ overloaded classrooms
_____ inadequate pay scale
_____ non-teaching responsibilities
_____ inadequate teaching materials

29. What condition will provide the most effective atmosphere for teaching?

_____ an understanding, cooperative principal
_____ congenial fellow teachers
_____ interested, helpful parents
_____ small classes
_____ interested, bright pupils

30. In your estimation, is it worthwhile for the grade school teacher to try to teach materials related to the following?

yes	no	
_____	_____	personal hygiene
_____	_____	job-related skills
_____	_____	racial equality
_____	_____	social adjustment skills
_____	_____	homemaking skills
_____	_____	art and music
_____	_____	religious principles

31. How would you rate the following attributes of a teacher as to their degree of importance? (Give the most important a value of 1, the least a value of 5).

_____ conscientious preparation of lessons
_____ an understanding attitude
_____ a capable, well trained mind
_____ a flexible adaptability to school routine
_____ strong moral and ethical values

32. Compared to other things you like to do with friends, how much do you like to get involved in serious conversations about significant issues?

_____ less than most
_____ about the same
_____ somewhat more
_____ much more

33. Would you prefer as a friend one who is?

_____ widely read and enjoys discussing ideas
_____ deeply religious
_____ mostly concerned with home and family
_____ active in social and civic affairs
_____ mostly concerned with teaching career

34. Do you find, as a rule, you're more comfortable with people who can talk on the same level that you do?

_____ no, not usually
_____ yes, most of the time

35. An important quality to look for in a student likely to be a future success is:

_____ an outgoing personality
_____ personal integrity
_____ ambition
_____ intellectual potential
_____ technical skills

36. Everyone has a number of "pet peeves." Which would bother you most" The student who:

_____ "tattles" on everyone
_____ always wants to be the leader
_____ never comes to school clean
_____ never seems to be able to get the lessons done

37. Which of the following qualities do you particularly enjoy seeing develop in your students?

_____ the willingness to compete whole-heartedly
_____ a pride in being neat and courteous to others
_____ learning to work diligently on abstract problems
_____ learning how to get along well with others
_____ other (splease specify)

NOTE: The following section is concerned with the educable mentally retarded students, the mild variety of retardation likely to be a concern in the school situation. Here, too, we are primarily interested in your opinions, so don't hesitate to comment on your choices.

38. Have you ever taught a child you thought might need to be tested for possible retardation?

_____ Yes
_____ No

39. lHow well informed do you think most of yourfellow teachers are on the subject of mental retardation?

_____ very well informed
_____ probably less than they should be
_____ have a vague knowledge
_____ probably have many misconceptions
_____ very inadequately informed

40. Generally, what seems to be the prospects for improvement in performance once a diagnosis is made?

_____ most can be brought up to average performance levels
_____ most can be trained for semi-skilled vocational work
_____ most can acquire a simplified classroom curriculum
_____ most are able to acquire basic social & self-help skill
_____ most will do best in a supervised workshop atmosphere

41. How do you think the majority of your colleagues would feel about teaching a special education class for retardates?

_____ would refuse to consider it
_____ would generally dislike the idea
_____ wouldn't be especially interested
_____ would be mildly interested
_____ would enjoy it

42. Since you've been teaching have you ever had the opportunity to do any of the following related to retardation? Check as many as are appropriate.

_____ attend a workshop
_____ attend a lecture or meeting about it
_____ read a book on the topic
_____ took a related course
_____ consult with a specialist in the area

43. How would you personally feel about teaching the retarded?

_____ never really thought about it
_____ would not want to
_____ would feel a bit uncomfortable about it
_____ wouldn't be interested
_____ would probably enjoy it

44. What would you find to be a major difficulty to be faced in working with them?

_____ slowness of progress in learning
_____ keeping order and discipline
_____ difficulty in trying to communicate
_____ lack of pupil interest
_____ parental pressures
_____ other (please specify)

45. Do you think the retarded should be taught in the regular classroom?

_____ Yes
_____ No

46. What would be a major problem involved in keeping them in a regular classroom?

_____ the possibility of being rejected as different
_____ the liklihood of being disliked as too slow & dumb
_____ isolation resulting from poorly developed social skills
_____ disturbances and distractions in the classroom
_____ too demanding of the teacher's time
_____ other (please specify)

47. Should the retardate be exempted from the compulsory attendance ruling?

_____ No
_____ yes
_____ never thought about it

48. Do you think that state programs should be expanded to meet their needs?

_____ Yes
_____ No

49. What do you feel is the best way to meet the needs of the retarded?

_____ continue present programs
_____ set up special facilities in each community
_____ upgrade state facilities
_____ integrate children into regular school programs
_____ am not qualified to answer

50. What will make the most significant contribution to their adult well-being?

_____ sound basic academic training
_____ on-the-job training and supervision
_____ concerned friends and family to care for him
_____ the child's own acceptance of his limitations
_____ community concern and acceptance
_____ (other) please specify

51. What do you consider the advantage of a special education class.

_____ protects them from excessive demands of the regular routine
_____ allows them to be with others who are more like themselves
_____ allows teacher to do a better job with regular students
_____ prevents unkind treatment from age-mates
_____ better preparation for fuller adult participation in the community

52. What are their chances for a successful marriage in adult life?

_____ not well suited for the demands of married life
_____ just as likely as anyone else
_____ less than average
_____ likely only under very good conditions
_____ more likely because of fewer competing interests

53. What proportion of retardates do you feel are likely to make good:

	ALMOST ALL	MOST	SOME	ONLY A FEW	DON"T KNOW
employees					
neighbors					
friends					
citizens					
parents					
husbands/wives					

54. What proportion of peterdates:

	ALMOST ALL	MOST	SOME	ONLY A FEW	DON'T KNOW
look differently					
can be self-supporting					
should be in institutions					
know they are different					
can lead "normal" lives					
can hold a regular job					
can learn to drive a car					
can learn to read & write					
can learn to vote					
should have children					
are able to participate in regular teenage activities					

55. What is your age now?

_____

56. What is your sex?

_____ male
_____ female

57. What is your marital status?

_____ married
_____ single
_____ divorced
_____ widowed

58. How many children do you have?

_____

59. What is your spouse's occupation?

_____
_____ does not apply

60. How many years of schooling has your spouse completed?

_____
_____ does not apply

61. What was your total family income for last year?

_____ 2-4,000
_____ 5-7,000
_____ 8-10,000
_____ 11,000+

62. How many years of schooling have you completed?

_____ less than 4 years of college
_____ college graduate
_____ What was your major field?
_____ MA completed
_____ What was your major field?
_____ doctoral work (some or all)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION